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ABSTRACT

This curriculum module introduces students to the study of migration, including a brief overview of some categories of migration and reasons why people migrate. As a case study, the module uses the Japanese migration experience in the United States, Peru, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay. The module introduces students to categories of migration such as rural-urban migration, urban-urban migration, cyclical migration, forced migration, return migration, remigration, and U-turn migration. Student activities in the module are structured around the theory of multiple intelligences. The module first presents a general introduction and then proceeds to an introductory activity which sets the context and contains transparencies and handouts. Next, the module's activities section provides a look at the eight countries with a Japanese immigrant population and then offers eight activities, one for each country studied. Contains a glossary and references. (BT)

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Japanese Migration and the Americas: An Introduction to the Study of Migration.

Mukai, Gary
Brunette, Rachel

SO 032 293

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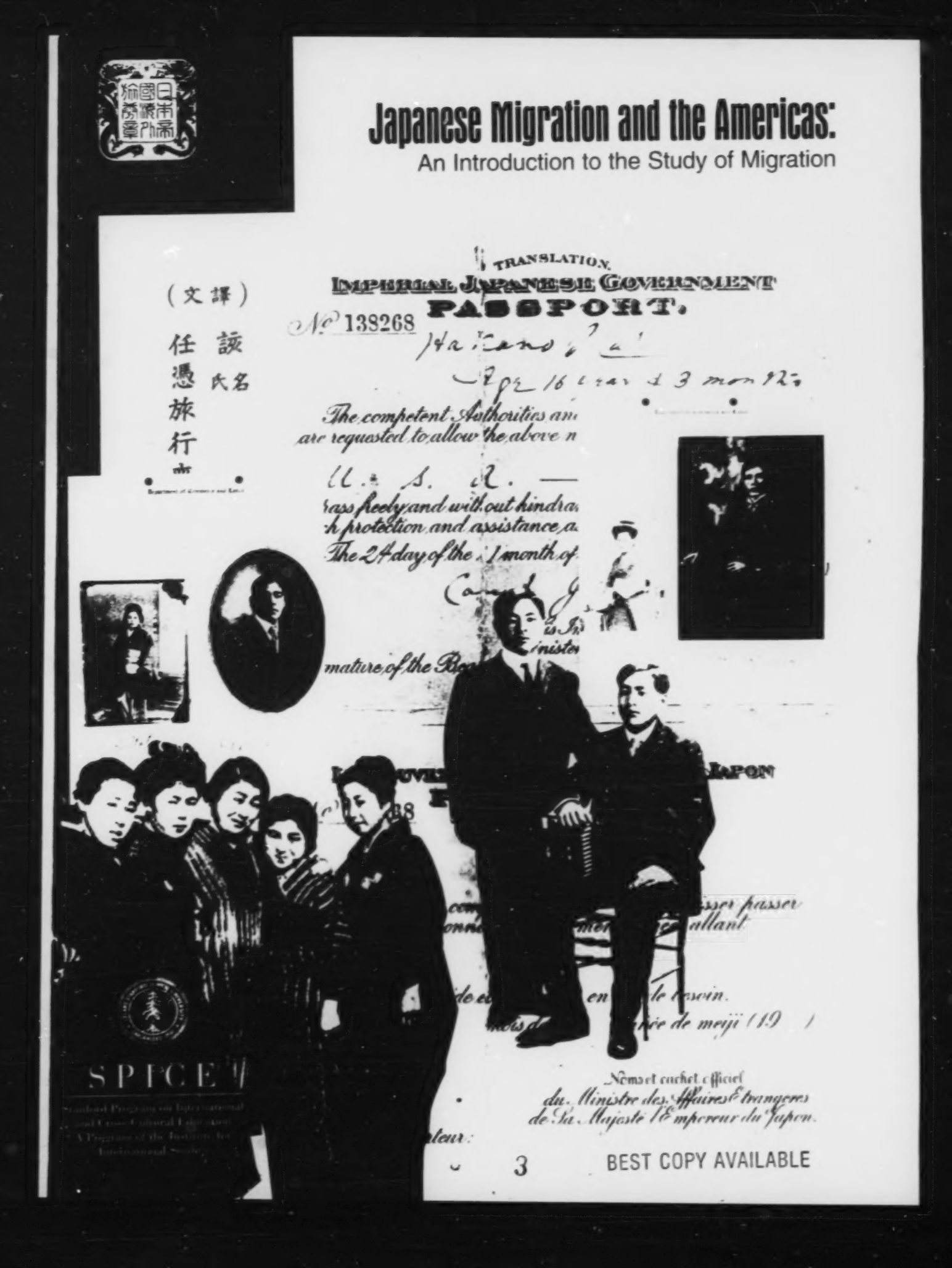
An Introduction to the Study of Migration



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Stanford University
SPICE
Institute for International Studies,
Stanford University, Encina Hall
Stanford, CA 94305-5013
Tel: 1-800-578-1114
Fax: 650-723-6784
http://www-iis.stanford.edu
SPICE.SALES@forsythe.stanford.edu

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JAPANESE MIGRATION AND THE AMERICAS
AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MIGRATION

Developed by Gary Mukai and Rachel Brunette
in cooperation with the International Nikkei Research Project,
Japanese American National Museum, Los Angeles

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For further information contact:
The Asia/Pacific Project, SPICE
Institute for International Studies (IIS)
Encina Hall, Stanford University
Stanford, CA 94305-6055
Tel: (800) 578-1114
Fax: (650) 723-6784
http://spice.stanford.edu
E-mail: SPICE.sales@forsythe.stanford.edu

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Module Introduction

JAPANESE MIGRATION AND THE AMERICAS

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MIGRATION

Rationale and Introduction

Migration is a social phenomenon that has affected the lives of all of the students in our classrooms either directly or indirectly. Tales of population movements have become a shared part of our global heritage throughout history and will inevitably remain a valuable magnifying glass through which we can better understand interactions between the United States and other nations, racial and ethnic groups, and diverse cultures.

People migrate for diverse reasons. One approach to the study of migration argues that individuals are influenced by a number of "push-pull" factors, which encourage them to leave their place of origin while simultaneously pulling them toward a new destination. Although the push-pull framework can explain many types of migrations, it cannot explain all of the reasons people choose to migrate to a specific city, region, or country.

This curriculum module introduces students to the study of migration, including a brief overview of some categories of migration and reasons why people migrate. In this introductory study, the Japanese migration experience in the Americas is used as a case study. Students will be introduced to categories of migration such as rural-urban migration, urban-urban migration, cyclical migration, forced migration, return migration, remigration, and U-turn migration. Case studies of migration will be drawn from the Japanese experience in the United States, Peru, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Bolivia, and Paraguay. A brief history of the Japanese experience in each of these countries will be presented to students, and students will engage in small group activities that focus on a migration-related event. These activities are structured around the theory of multiple intelligences.

Ethnic Studies

Many states recommend the teaching of ethnic studies at the high school level. The *History–Social Science Framework for California Public Schools*, for example, includes ethnic studies in the grade nine course of study:

> Students should understand the national origins of American ethnic groups. They should study the social, economic, and political forces that caused people to come to America. They should gain insights into the barriers that various ethnic groups have had to overcome in the past and present. They should learn about the opportunities these groups encountered and the contributions made by each to American society. (p. 83)

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By offering students a brief overview of the Japanese experience in the United States in addition to other countries in the Americas, this curriculum module can be used as a supplement to courses on American ethnic groups as well as offering students a unique look at the experiences of an ethnic group in other countries.

Multiple Intelligences

Howard Gardner, Professor of Education at Harvard University, argues that humans possess varying amounts of seven intelligences, which they combine and use in highly personal ways that are influenced by culture. In his book *Frames of Mind*, Gardner presented a theory of multiple intelligences, which reinforces his cross-cultural perspective of human cognition. A brief description of Gardner's intelligences follows:[1]

Verbal-Linguistic Intelligence

Verbal-linguistic intelligence consists of the ability to think in words and to use language to express and appreciate complex meanings. Authors, poets, journalists, speakers, and newscasters exhibit high degrees of linguistic intelligence.

Logical-Mathematical Intelligence

Logical-mathematical intelligence makes it possible to calculate, quantify, consider propositions and hypotheses, and carry out complex mathematical operations. Scientists, mathematicians, accountants, engineers, and computer programmers all demonstrate strong logical-mathematical intelligence.

Spatial Intelligence

Spatial intelligence instills the capacity to think in three-dimensional ways as do sailors, pilots, sculptors, painters, and architects. It enables one to perceive external and internal imagery, to recreate, transform, or modify images, to navigate oneself and objects through space, and to produce or decode graphic information.

Bodily-Kinesthetic Intelligence

Bodily-kinesthetic intelligence enables one to manipulate objects and fine-tune physical skills. It is evident in athletes, dancers, surgeons, and craftspeople.

Musical Intelligence

Musical intelligence is evident in individuals who possess a sensitivity to pitch, melody, rhythm, and tone. Those demonstrating this intelligence include composers, conductors, musicians, critics, instrument makers, as well as sensitive listeners.

---

[1] Linda Campbell et al., *Teaching and Learning Through Multiple Intelligences* (Needham Heights, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon, 1996), p. xvi.

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Interpersonal Intelligence

Interpersonal intelligence is the capacity to understand and interact effectively with others.

Intrapersonal Intelligence

Intrapersonal intelligence refers to the ability to construct an accurate perception of oneself and to use such knowledge in planning and directing one's life.

Small Group Activities

The following is a brief summary of the activities contained in this module.

Activity #1

This activity presents a brief overview of the Japanese experience in the United States. Students draw illustrations that encourage them to consider the international migration experience of early Japanese immigrant men and women in California and their experience with marriage. Students utilize two primary sources: a comic strip drawn by a Japanese immigrant man in San Francisco in the early 20th century, and documents of a picture bride who came to the United States in 1913.

Activity #2

This activity presents a brief overview of the Japanese experience in Peru. Students write a letter that examines the forced migration of Japanese Peruvians to U.S. internment camps during World War II.

Activity #3

This activity presents a brief overview of the Japanese experience in Brazil. Students write a poem or song lyrics based on personal stories of the U-turn migration by Japanese Latin Americans.

Activity #4

This activity presents a brief overview of the Japanese experience in Canada. Students engage in a role play that offers them a glimpse into the lives of five Japanese whose lives were affected by the Japanese immigrant experience in Canada.

Activity #5

This activity presents a brief overview of the Japanese experience in Mexico. Students engage in analyzing and drawing artwork based on the experience of Japanese Mexicans as expressed through their literature and art.

Activity #6

This activity presents a brief overview of the Japanese experience in Argentina. Students analyze statistics about Japanese immigrants in Argentina.

module introduction

Activity #7

This activity presents a brief overview of the Japanese experience in Bolivia. Students write a speech or plan a documentary based on autobiographical sketches by Japanese immigrants in Bolivia.

Activity #8

This activity presents a brief overview of the Japanese experience in Paraguay. Students write a letter to the editor regarding Japanese education in Paraguay.

Hyphenation

In this unit, terms like "Japanese American" or "Japanese Mexican" are hyphenated when used as adjectives, e.g., Japanese-American internment or Japanese-Mexican art. Otherwise, they are left unhyphenated.

Module Goals

The following reflect goals for the curriculum module as a whole.

In this curriculum unit, students will:

- learn about basic theories of migration
- develop a basic understanding of categories of migration
- consider how migration has affected their lives
- consider reasons why people migrate
- become familiar with the Japanese migration experience in the Americas
- learn to think critically and make informed opinions
- evaluate different opinions and generate alternative perspectives on an issue
- learn tools to enhance awareness and communication
- work effectively in small and large groups
- organize and express opinions

Materials

Handouts and primary source documents have been provided with each activity. Permission is given to reproduce these handouts and documents for classroom use only.

Time

Japanese Migration and the Americas is divided into eight activities. We recommend one to two class periods for each activity. Some teachers may choose to rotate small groups of students through two or more of the activities.

Small Group Roles

Japanese Migration and the Americas engages students in many small group activities. Some of the suggested roles and responsibilities for individual students working in small groups are:

- **Facilitator**: responsible for reading instructions or designating someone in the group to read instructions, for assuring that the group is on task, and for communicating with the instructor

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- **Recorder**: responsible for writing answers to questions, taking notes, etc.
- **Timekeeper**: responsible for keeping track of the time allocated for activities
- **Materials Manager**: responsible for obtaining and keeping track of materials used by the group
- **Harmonizer**: responsible for the group process, making sure, for example, that no one dominates the discussion and that everyone is participating
- **Reporter**: responsible for organizing group presentations and presenting results of activities to the class

Subjects

This curriculum unit is recommended for use in social studies, history, global/international studies, ethnic studies, and contemporary issues classes.

Equipment

Overhead projector, audiotape player

Icons

For easier reference the following icons are used throughout the unit:

Notes to the Teacher

Small Group Activity

Transparency

Group Presentation

Introductory Activity

JAPANESE MIGRATION AND THE AMERICAS

SETTING THE CONTEXT

Organizing Questions

- What is migration?
- Why is migration important in your life?
- Why do people migrate?
- How can we categorize migrations?

Introduction

In this introductory activity, students are presented with a general background of the study of migration and asked to consider how migration has affected their lives. This activity is designed to set the context for the eight activities contained in this curriculum module.

Objectives

knowledge

- to learn the definition of "migration"
- to gain an awareness of basic concepts of migration studies
- to learn categories of migration

attitude

- to appreciate the experiences of people who have migrated
- to consider how migration has affected students' lives

skill

- to work effectively in small groups
- to develop written summaries of discussion

Materials

- Map of Asia and the Pacific, overhead transparency
- Four Questions, overhead transparency
- Four Questions Answer Sheet, for the teacher
- Introduction to the Study of Migration, introductory handout, one copy per four students
- Glossary (see Appendices), one copy per four students

Procedure

1. Introduce this curriculum module by informing students that they

will be learning about migration through a case study of Japanese migration and the Americas. This introductory activity sets the context for the eight main activities contained in this module.

Ask students to define "migration." You may want to have students develop a web or concept map using this term. Webster's dictionary defines migration as the movement of people from one country, place or locality to another. Ask students the question "Why do people migrate?" and solicit responses.

Point out that migration can be either voluntary (e.g., study abroad) or involuntary (e.g., forced migration of slaves from Africa to the United States) and international or domestic. Point out that this introductory activity will introduce students to the study of migration as well as various categories of migration.

2. Utilizing the overhead transparency, Map of Asia and the Pacific, have students locate Japan and note its location relative to the Americas.

Next have students discuss the questions on the overhead transparency, Four Questions. These questions were designed to set the context for some of the issues presented in the eight main activities of this curriculum module. A teacher reference for Four Questions is provided.

3. To provide a brief overview of migration studies, divide the class into small groups of four students each, and distribute a copy of the introductory handout, Introduction to the Study of Migration, and the Glossary to each group. Students are instructed to consider responses to the four questions raised at the beginning of the handout. Have each student write a summary of the group responses for one of the assigned questions. Each group should also select a reporter to provide a three-minute summary of the group's discussion for the entire class. Allow students 30 minutes for these tasks.

4. Have each reporter present a three-minute summary of their group's discussion. Discuss these summaries as a class. Some additional questions to discuss are:

- How has migration affected your lives?
- How can this introduction to the study of migration help you examine your family's migration history?
- Which categories of migration are significant to your family's history?

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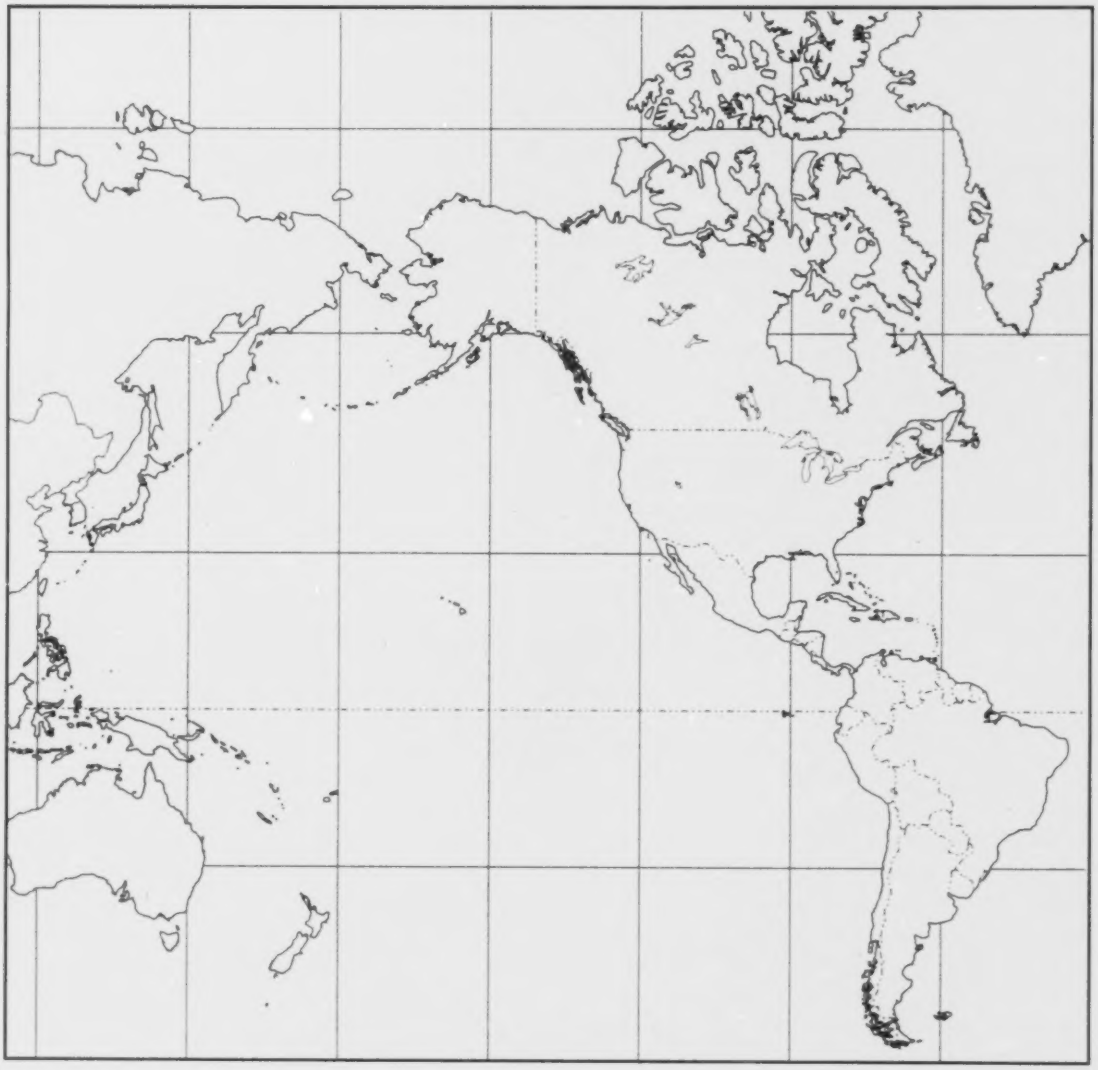
transparency

MAP OF ASIA AND THE PACIFIC



FOUR QUESTIONS

What are some examples of events or situations that might lead to migration for each of the following reasons? a. political b. economic c. social d. natural disasters	During World War II, which of the following countries interned people of Japanese descent or sent them to U.S. internment camps? a. Canada b. United States c. Peru d. all of the above
Which country has the largest number of Japanese living outside Japan? a. United States b. Brazil c. Peru d. Canada e. Republic of Korea f. Argentina g. Bolivia h. Mexico i. Paraguay	What are some categories of migration? a. international migration b. domestic migration c. rural-urban migration d. urban-urban migration e. cyclical migration f. forced migration g. U-turn migration h. return migration i. remigration j. all of the above

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Four Questions Answer Sheet

What are some examples of events or situations that might lead to migration for each of the following reasons? a. political (e.g., revolution, war) b. economic (e.g., depression, unemployment) c. social (e.g., discrimination, desire for education) d. natural disasters (e.g., drought causes famine)	During World War II, which of the following countries interned people of Japanese descent or sent them to U.S. internment camps? d. all of the above (The United States and Canada interned people of Japanese descent from early 1942 until the end of World War II; 12 Latin American countries sent 2,264 people of Japanese descent to U.S. internment camps—of these, 1,800 were Japanese Peruvians.)
Which country has the largest number of Japanese living outside Japan? b. Brazil (approximately 1.2 million) Brazil is followed by the United States, Canada, and Peru.	What are some categories of migration? j. all of the above (These are explained on the handout, Introduction to the Study of Migration.)

introductory handout

Introduction to the Study of Migration

While reading this handout, consider and discuss the following questions. Assign one student to each question and have each write a summary of your group's discussion of that question.

- *What is migration?*
- *Why is migration important in your life?*
- *Why do people migrate?*
- *How can we categorize migrations?*

What Is Migration?
Migration, the movement of people from one country, place, or locality to another, is a social phenomenon that has affected the entire world. The modern English language derives its vocabulary from Latin, Greek, Celtic, French, and other Indo-European languages carried by migrating peoples on their journeys to the Isles. The Americas and their native peoples faced irreversible cultural, social, and economic changes during the 15th century when Europeans colonized the New World. In Asia, archeologists have found evidence of early interaction between the peoples of the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago, inspiring debate over the ethnic origins of the modern Japanese. Dramatic tales of population movements have become a shared part of our global heritage throughout history and will inevitably remain a valuable magnifying glass through which we can better understand interactions between nation-states, racial and ethnic groups, and diverse cultures.

Significance of Migration
Since World War II, the development of economic internationalization, faster means of transportation, efficient communication systems, and the dissemination of popular culture have all accelerated the movement of people. An increasingly globalized economy, coupled with a highly mobile labor force, has contributed to a significant rise in international migration. Equally, wars and disputes in Southeast Asia, Eastern Europe, Africa, and the Middle East have resulted in a flood of refugees and forced migrations from war-torn areas to neighboring countries and the industrialized states. As a result, international migration has developed into a controversial issue in both sending and receiving countries, and immigration policy has achieved widespread recognition on the agendas of statespeople around the world. In France, working-class riots against immigration characterized the 1980s, resulting in a crackdown on immigration in the 1990s. Meanwhile, in the United States, California's Proposition 187 generated enormous public debate in 1994 over the rights of undocumented immigrants and their children to receive health care and other social services.

The implications of international migration are far-reaching and complex. Immigrants have added new commercial dimensions to their receiving countries and have introduced cultural transformations. In other cases, migrants have shaped their original communities upon their return or through sizable contributions from their earnings abroad. Perhaps even more consequential, large-scale population movements have forced us to rethink and perhaps ultimately redefine classical

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notions of the nation-state. Once founded on principles of cultural and political unity, the modern immigration state now includes peoples of diverse ethnic and cultural origins, complicating definitions of national identity. In many cases, immigration and naturalization policies can tell us much about a nation's definition of its membership. Such national policies also contribute to changes at the international level, as new relations between nations unfold as their citizens interact with immigrants or become migrants themselves.

Reasons for Migration

The study of migration is inherently interdisciplinary. Traditional academic fields including history, cultural anthropology, law, political science, sociology, and economics have all contributed to the study of population movements. Consequently, a thorough understanding of human migrations involves some knowledge of all disciplines and their approaches. In order to classify migration experiences, social scientists have developed several theoretical approaches to migration studies; however, no single framework can explain all types of migrations. Rather, it is perhaps best to understand migrations as a series of individual actions based within dynamic social, political, and economic frameworks.

People migrate for diverse reasons. One approach to the study of migration argues that individuals are influenced by a number of "push-pull" factors, which encourage them to leave their place of origin while simultaneously pulling them toward a new destination. For example, someone living in a region with high unemployment might move to an area with a high demand for labor. In another case, political instability or war might push migrants to leave their places of origin while at the same time they are pulled toward peaceful regions. When considering push-pull factors, it is helpful to imagine a cost-benefit analysis structure. In other words, the migrant considers the *costs* of moving (e.g., leaving family and friends, paying for moving expenses) against the perceived *benefits* (e.g., a better job, increased income, opportunities to meet new people) and eventually arrives at a conclusion to migrate or to remain in his or her current location based on a logical thought process.

Although the push-pull framework can explain many types of migrations, it cannot solely explain why people choose to migrate to a specific city, region, or country. In the United States, for example, foreign-born residents compose 9 percent of the total population of 258 million. In Japan, on the other hand, only 222,000 foreigners have become Japanese citizens since 1945.[1] What accounts for such differences? Although both countries boast large economies, many immigrants live in the United States whereas Japan has very few. One explanation is that other factors must influence the flow of migrants. Some of these might include government policies, geographical location, and cultural differences. In other words, migration is not determined solely by the individual. Rather, his or her options are often determined by government regulations and quotas, trade relationships, and cultural ties.

Categories of Migration

How can we categorize human migrations? Although the migration trajectory of each individual is unique, there are several basic kinds of migration patterns. In this unit, you will explore many types of migrations as you learn about the migration trajectories of the Japanese to the United States, Canada, and Latin America. Listed below are several migration patterns.

- *International migration* is the complex movement of people from one country to another. This form of migration is highly dependent upon government regulations and economic activities, as well as the development of perceived

[1]Peter Brimelow "Closed Door," *Forbes Magazine*, August 1993.

opportunities abroad. International migration might simultaneously consist of other migration forms. For example, a person leaving Caracas, Venezuela, for Miami, Florida, represents a case of international migration as well as urban-urban migration.

- *Domestic migration* refers to the movement of people within a country.

The following categories of migration can refer to either international or domestic migration:

1. *Rural-urban migration* takes place, for example, when people in rural areas move to cities. This kind of migration is extremely common in developing nations where health care and educational services are available primarily in large cities. Rural-urban migration often leads to depopulation of the countryside and overpopulation in urban areas where shantytowns extend for many miles to meet the needs of migrant workers.

2. *Urban-urban migration* occurs when an individual moves from one city to another. Often, urban-urban migrations are the result of rural-urban migrations. Individuals often move from a rural area to a regional urban center before moving again to another urban area.

3. *Cyclical migration* is common for agricultural laborers whose work depends on the seasonal harvest. A cyclical migrant might work for three months in an agricultural region before moving to a city for a few months, followed by another seasonal job in agriculture.

4. *Forced migration* occurs when individuals leave their place of origin under the control of others. African slaves brought to the United States are considered forced migrants because slave-trading companies made them come to the United States.

5. *Return migration* occurs when individuals leave their place of origin but eventually return.

6. *Remigration* refers to a "double" migration. For example, some Japanese immigrants migrated first to Peru and then *remigrated* to Bolivia.

7. *U-turn migration* is a new term specific to our discussion of Japanese migrations. U-turn migrants are the children and grandchildren of Japanese nationals in Latin America. Some of these individuals have gone to Japan to seek work and improve their quality of living.

In this module, we will explore Japanese migrations to the United States, Canada, and Latin America. Through an examination of these migration experiences, we will gain exposure to diverse kinds of migration patterns and will understand how one ethnic group can have multiple migration experiences. In addition, you will be asked to consider the migration history of your own family.

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JAPANESE MIGRATION AND THE AMERICAS

A LOOK AT EIGHT COUNTRIES

Organizing Questions

- What types of migration experiences did Japanese have in the Americas?
- How are these migration experiences similar to or different from the migration experiences of students' families?

Introduction

Eight activities are provided in this section of the curriculum module. Each activity introduces students to the Japanese experience in one of following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and the United States. Students are encouraged to consider how the migration experiences of Japanese in the Americas can be compared to their families' histories.

Objectives

knowledge

- to learn about the migration experience of Japanese in the Americas
- to learn about different categories of migration

attitude

- to appreciate the experiences of people who have migrated
- to appreciate one's own family's migration history

skill

- to work effectively in small groups

Materials

- World Map, transparency
- Overhead transparency pen
- Handout #1: Japanese Immigration to the United States, one copy
- Activity #1: Picture Brides, one copy
- Handout #2: Japanese Immigration to Peru, one copy
- Activity #2: Japanese–Latin American Internees of War, one copy
- Handout #3: Japanese Immigration to Brazil, one copy
- Activity #3: Japanese Latin Americans in Japan, one copy (includes cassette tape, "Gambateando")

activities

- Handout #4: Japanese Immigration to Canada, one copy
- Activity #4: Five Japanese Emigrant Lives, one copy
- Handout #5: Japanese Immigration to Mexico, one copy
- Activity #5: Japanese-Mexican Art and Literature, one copy (includes color copies of artwork)
- Handout #6: Japanese Immigration to Argentina, one copy
- Activity #6: Japanese Settlers in Argentina, one copy
- Handout #7: Japanese Immigration to Bolivia, one copy
- Activity #7: Autobiographical Sketches, one copy
- Handout #8: Japanese Immigration to Paraguay, one copy
- Activity #8: Japanese Education in Paraguay, one copy

In these eight activities, the experiences of Japanese in eight different countries are introduced to students. Each Japanese who has migrated has a unique story. It is important to point out to students that although these eight activities obviously do not represent all perspectives of the Japanese migration experience, they do provide a glimpse into that experience.

The activities were developed with the theory of multiple intelligences in mind. The eight activities focus primarily on one or two of the intelligences. You may want to keep these in mind when assigning students to activities:

Activity #1: Spatial and Verbal-Linguistic

Activity #2: Intrapersonal and Interpersonal

Activity #3: Musical and Verbal-Linguistic

Activity #4: Bodily-Kinesthetic and Interpersonal

Activity #5: Verbal-Linguistic and Spatial

Activity #6: Logical-Mathematical

Activity #7: Interpersonal and Verbal-Linguistic

Activity #8: Verbal-Linguistic

Procedure

1. Point out to students that they will be examining migration experiences of Japanese in eight countries in the Americas: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and the United States. During this examination, students will be encouraged to reflect upon their own families' migration histories.

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Using the transparency, World Map, have students locate these countries.

Divide the students into eight groups. Distribute one of the Activities #1–8 to each group. Allow students a class period to work on their activities and the group tasks. Each group should select a group facilitator to share or facilitate the sharing of the group's task and findings to the rest of the class.

2. Ask each of the groups in turn to come to the front of the class to share its group task and findings.
3. After each group has shared, have the class draw comparisons between the different groups and discuss how each pattern of migration can be categorized. The following are suggested debriefing questions:
   - Why is it valuable to study migration histories of the Japanese in Latin America and Canada as well as in the United States?
   - How is your family's migration history similar to or different from the migration experience of the Japanese in the Americas?
   - Why is migration important in your life?

Assessment

Students engaged in the activities through multiple intelligences (i.e., verbal-linguistic, logical-mathematical, visual-spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, intrapersonal). Keep this in mind when assessing student outcomes.

- For Activities #1 and #5, you may want to consider craftsmanship, appropriate detail, themes, and symbolic meaning, as well as the students' general understanding of the specific immigrants' experience in your assessment of the artwork.
- For Activities #2, #3, #7, and #8, you may want to consider craftsmanship, visual or sensory imagery, language use, and cohesive themes, as well as the students' general understanding of the specific immigrants' experience in your assessment of the letters, poems, lyrics for songs, speeches, letters to the editor, and video documentary plans.
- For Activity #4, consider the students' ability to synthesize information from the historical background and focus on key concepts and/or ideas, the appropriateness of the role play format, and time management, as well as the students' general

understanding of the specific people's experience in your assessment of the role play.

- For Activity #6, consider the type of problem-solving and collaborative processes used in interpreting the statistics.

Another suggested assessment approach to use with this module is a reflective journal, in which students record their attitudes toward the concepts and information provided in the activities. Migration may be a very sensitive area for some. You may consider having students identify certain sections of the journals for teacher and/or other students' comments.

Follow-up Activities

- Have students research their own families' migration histories. The format can be of your or the students' choosing. Some possibilities could include a short story, scrapbook, children's picture book, photo album with captions, or research-style report.
- Have students write a textbook entry on "Japanese Migration and the Americas." Consider how well the information is synthesized and interpreted and how effectively historical documents or other primary sources are used.
- Have students assume the role of a newspaper editorial writer from the following hypothetical newspapers: *U.S. Daily News, Tokyo News Bulletin, Brazilian Herald, Peruvian Times, Canadian Online News, Bolivian National, Mexican Journal, Argentina Post, Paraguay Weekly.* Have them choose a historical or current event from this module and write an editorial. Use the editorials to determine how well students draw upon their newly acquired knowledge and perspectives related to migration. How persuasive are their comments and/or points of view?
- Have students research the migration history of a particular ethnic group in the United States and examine the impact this history has had on U.S. relations with the ethnic group's country of origin.

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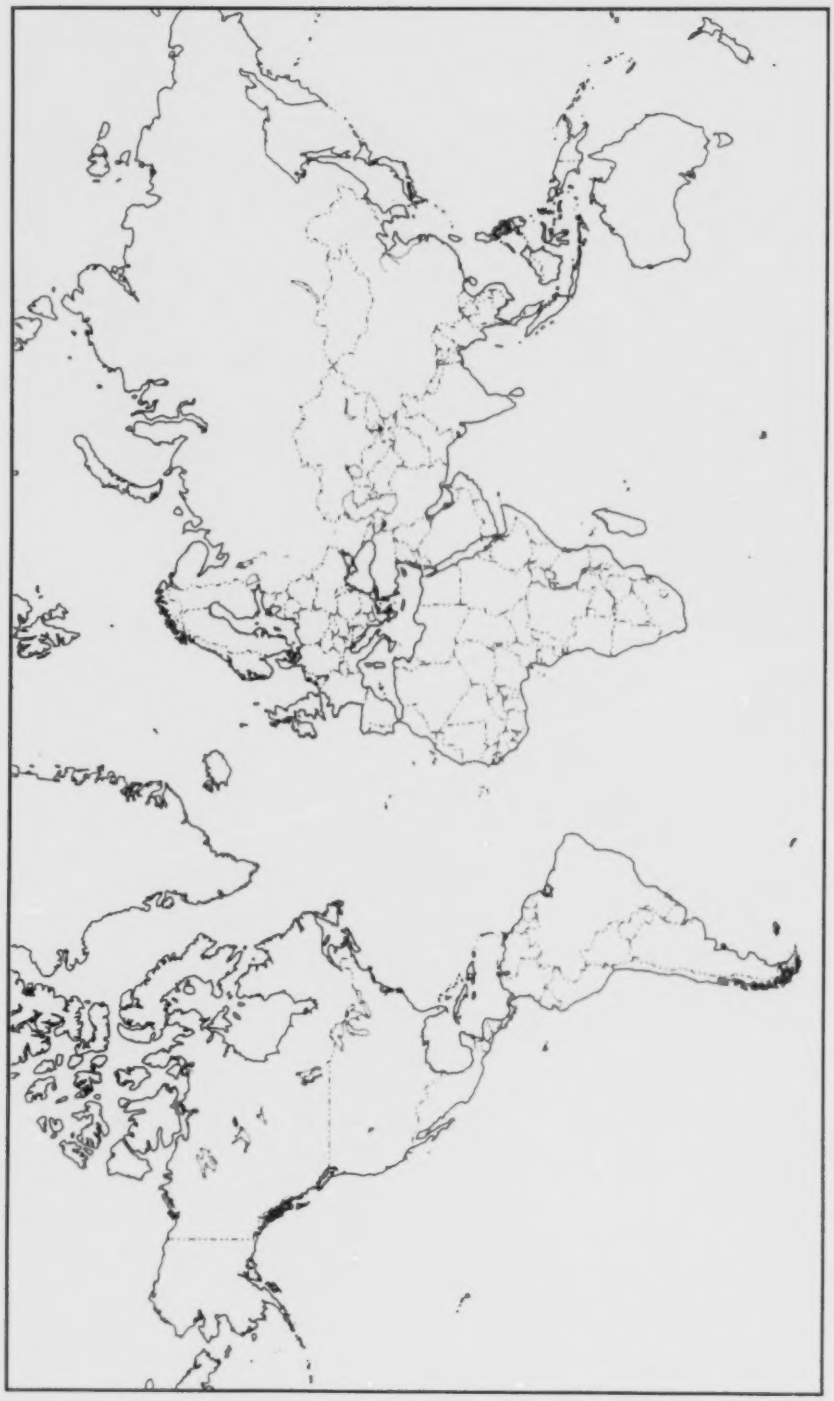
World Map



handout #1

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

As you read the handout, keep the following questions in mind.

- *What categories of migration are represented?*
- *How did the Japanese experience in the United States impact U.S.–Japan relations?*
- *How was the experience of the Japanese in the United States impacted by U.S.–Japan relations?*

According to the 1990 U.S. census, there were 847,562 Japanese Americans, with the largest concentrations in California (312,989), Hawaii (247,486), New York (35,281), Washington (34,366), and Illinois (21,831). Japanese Americans have at times been victims of racial discrimination, the most tragic episode being incarceration during World War II. They have nonetheless made numerous important contributions to U.S. society.

Periods of Japanese-American History

The Japanese-American experience in the United States can be analyzed as follows: (1) 1868–1924 was the major period of Japanese immigration to Hawaii and the United States, as well as the first major phase of organized anti-Japanese agitation, culminating with the Immigration Act of 1924, which in effect barred further immigration from Japan. During this period approximately 270,000 Japanese immigrants (*issei*) settled in the United States. More than 125,000 came during the peak years, 1901–08. (2) 1924–41 was the major period of Japanese settlement and community development in the United States and of the emergence of American-born Japanese Americans (*nisei*). (3) 1941–45 were the years of wartime incarceration, when 112,000 Japanese Americans from the Pacific Coast were placed in American concentration camps called relocation centers. (4) 1945 to the present was the postwar recovery period, when Japanese Americans rebuilt their lives and communities. It was also during this period that the third (*sansei*) and fourth (*yonsei*) generations emerged.

Immigration Background

In 1868 a shipload of 148 contract laborers arrived in Honolulu to work on Hawaii's flourishing sugar plantations. These laborers, known as *gannen-mono* or "first-year men" because they came in the first year of Emperor Meiji's reign, were recruited from Tokyo and Yokohama.

Japanese immigration to the mainland had its symbolic beginning in 1869 with the arrival in California of the so-called Wakamatsu colony, whose 20-odd members came from the Aizu Wakamatsu area of Japan. Large-scale immigration to Hawaii and the U.S. mainland, however, did not begin until 1885–86, when the Japanese government relaxed restrictions against emigration. In early years Japanese immigrants tended to be young, single men who came from farming backgrounds in the southern and western prefectures of Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Wakayama, Kumamoto, and Fukuoka. Before 1908, when the Gentlemen's Agreement between the United States and Japan went into effect and placed restrictions on the types of individuals who could emigrate, the ratio of men to women was 7 to 1. However, for the remaining years of large-scale immigration to the United States, more women than men migrated, most coming as so-called picture brides of immigrant men. Permanent residence in the United States gradually replaced the dream of returning to Japan for many immigrant laborers who saved enough money to start small businesses and farms. Marriage and the creation of families further reinforced permanent settlement in America.

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The Meiji government's ambitious drive for industrialization and international parity generated internal political conflicts and severe economic dislocations, which had an unusually adverse impact on the agricultural sector. Emigration was viewed by the Japanese government as one means of coping with difficult economic conditions. A major distinguishing feature of Japanese emigration was the active role of the Japanese government in monitoring and controlling the process. Government measures included the creation of a special government bureau and government-sponsored emigration companies to ensure that emigrants would be treated fairly and that they would not undermine Japan's rising international status or its relations with the United States. The close attention Japanese government officials paid to the immigration situation in the United States, coupled with the American government's view of Japan as an emerging major power, elevated many regionally based controversies and issues, such as the San Francisco school board's decision in 1906 to segregate Japanese schoolchildren, to major areas of negotiation and contention between the two countries.

The Evacuation during World War II

The World War II incarceration of 112,000 Japanese Americans from the Pacific Coast in American concentration camps is the most tragic event in Japanese-American history. The roots of what has been called "America's worst wartime mistake" reach back to decades of anti-Japanese hatred and agitation in the western states. Research indicates that the evacuations had an all-encompassing economic impact on Japanese Americans involving not only personal loss of property, income, and savings, but also the destruction of a viable, ethnically based economy. The evacuation served to disperse a sizable proportion of the Japanese-American population to cities in the Midwest and East Coast, where few Japanese Americans had resided before the war; to destroy a number of previously existing Japanese-American communities; and to cause various forms of social disorganization for the Japanese American family unit in adapting to the abnormal situation of life in concentration camps.

Military Service

The involvement of Japanese Americans, especially the *nisei*, in America's military ventures during the 20th century has received wide recognition. This is due, in large part, to the exploits of the 442nd Regimental Combat Team and the 100th Battalion, all-*nisei* fighting units formed during World War II. Guided by their motto, Go for Broke, they became America's most decorated military units during the war.

Current Issues

Although they have now gained formal redress and reparations for their World War II incarceration, members of the Japanese-American community continue to debate how they will remember the tragedy and apply the lessons learned from it. Japanese Americans continue to face racial discrimination and prejudice. Other issues include providing adequate housing and social services for an increasingly large elderly population consisting of *issei* and *nisei*, planning redevelopment projects in traditional Japanese-American communities and determining the role of Japanese multinational corporations in those projects, providing for the special needs of a growing postwar immigrant sector among the Japanese-American population, and increasing the political representation of Japanese Americans in local and national governments.

Source: "Japanese Americans," *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1993), pp. 661–662

activity #1

Picture Brides

The comic strip on the following page was drawn by Henry (Yoshitaka) Kiyama and was published in San Francisco in 1931. It is one of many comic strips that were translated by Frederik L. Schodt and published as a book, *The Four Immigrants Manga*, in 1999 by Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, California. It is reprinted here with permission from Stone Bridge Press.

As pointed out in the handout, "Japanese Immigration to the United States," most of the early Japanese immigrants to the United States were men. According to the 1900 census, 24,326 Japanese lived in the United States. Of these, only 410 were married women. In 1910, the census counted 5,581 married women in a U.S. Japanese population of 72,157; and in 1920, it counted 22,193 in a U.S. Japanese population of 111,010. It is very difficult to know how many of these married women came as "picture brides." "Picture brides" was a term for Japanese women in the early 20th century who married in absentia Japanese immigrants to the United States, Canada, and other countries after an exchange of photographs and then came to join their new husbands. The Immigration Station in San Francisco on Angel Island, however, estimates the number of picture brides admitted during 1912–19 as 5,273.

Many early Japanese immigrant men had their photographs taken and sent them to Japan so that their parents or acquaintances in Japan could help to find them brides. The comic strip illustrates the anxiety brought about by such an experience. Please note that the comic strip adds a very humorous touch to the experience of exchanging photographs for the purpose of marriage. As is the case with marriage, it is important to keep in mind that this was in fact a very serious experience.

The immigration document on pages 25 and 26 is from the U.S. National Archives. The document contains the text of the interview of Shizuno Nishimori, a Japanese woman who had immigrated to the United States as a picture bride, and her husband, Taichi Nishimori, a Japanese citizen who had been living in California for seven years. Read through the document by assigning one group member to read the questions (the questions follow the Q's) and two group members to read the answers given by Taichi and Shizuno (the answers follow the A's).

Group Task

Imagine that the Japanese man with the horseshoe blemish in the comic is Taichi Nishimori. Use copies of the grid on page 24 to illustrate scenes from Taichi's future with Shizuno. Incorporate historical information from the handout, "Japanese Immigration to the United States," as well.

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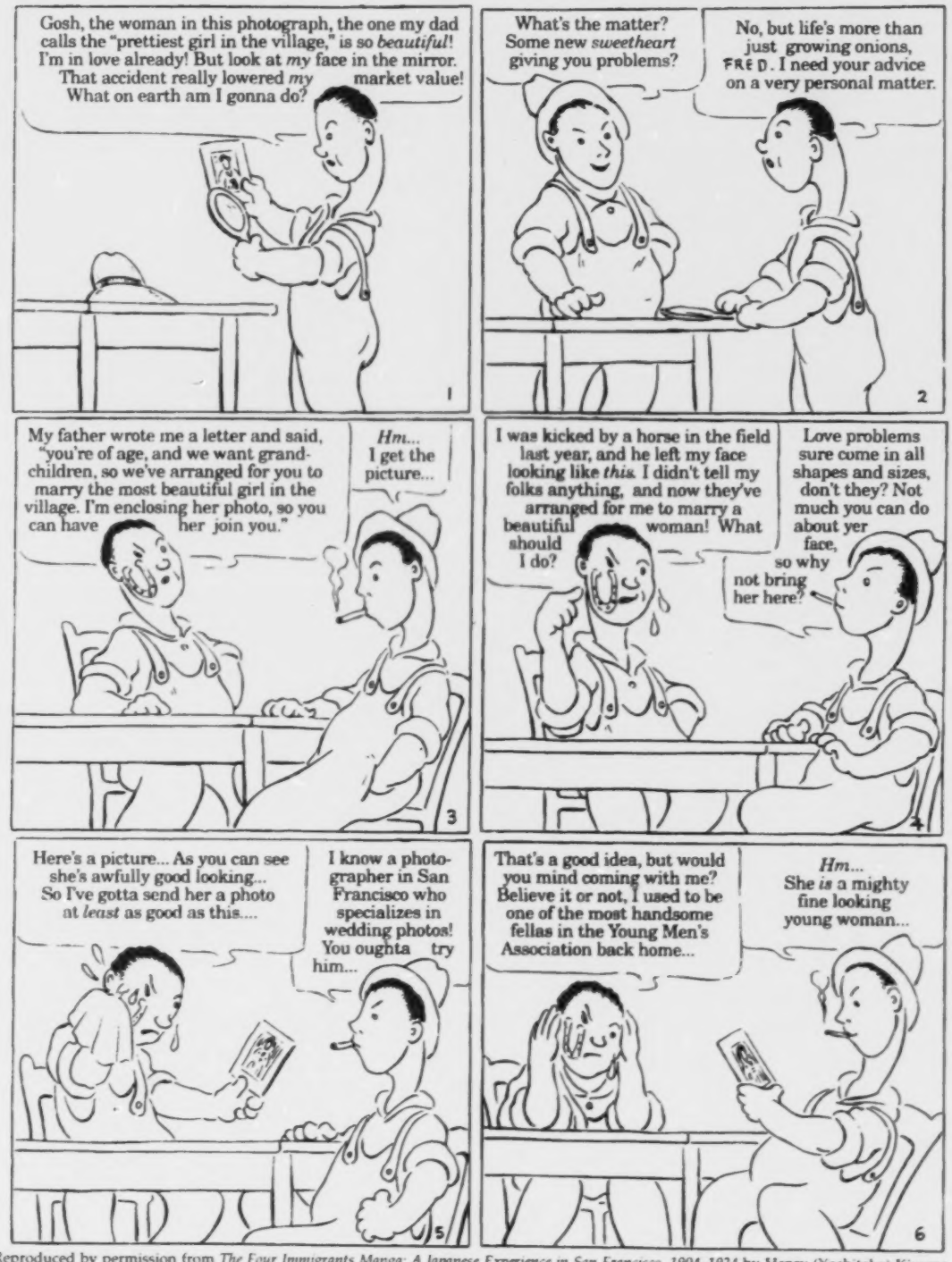
PICTURE BRIDES


Gosh, the woman in this photograph, the one my dad calls the "prettiest girl in the village," is so *beautiful*! I'm in love already! But look at *my* face in the mirror. That accident really lowered *my* market value! What on earth am I gonna do?
1
What's the matter? Some new *sweetheart* giving you problems?
No, but life's more than just growing onions, FRED. I need your advice on a very personal matter.
2
My father wrote me a letter and said, "you're of age, and we want grandchildren, so we've arranged for you to marry the most beautiful girl in the village. I'm enclosing her photo, so you can have her join you."
Hm... I get the picture...
3
I was kicked by a horse in the field last year, and he left my face looking like *this*. I didn't tell my folks anything, and now they've arranged for me to marry a beautiful woman! What should I do?
Love problems sure come in all shapes and sizes, don't they? Not much you can do about yer face, so why not bring her here?
4
Here's a picture... As you can see she's awfully good looking... So I've gotta send her a photo at *least* as good as this....
I know a photographer in San Francisco who specializes in wedding photos! You oughta try him...
5
That's a good idea, but would you mind coming with me? Believe it or not, I used to be one of the most handsome fellas in the Young Men's Association back home...
Hm... She *is* a mighty fine looking young woman...
6

Reproduced by permission from *The Four Immigrants Manga: A Japanese Experience in San Francisco, 1904–1924* by Henry (Yoshitaka) Kiyama, translated by Frederik L. Schodt, © 1999 by Stone Bridge Press, Berkeley, CA, (sbp@stonebridge.com, 1-800-947-7271).

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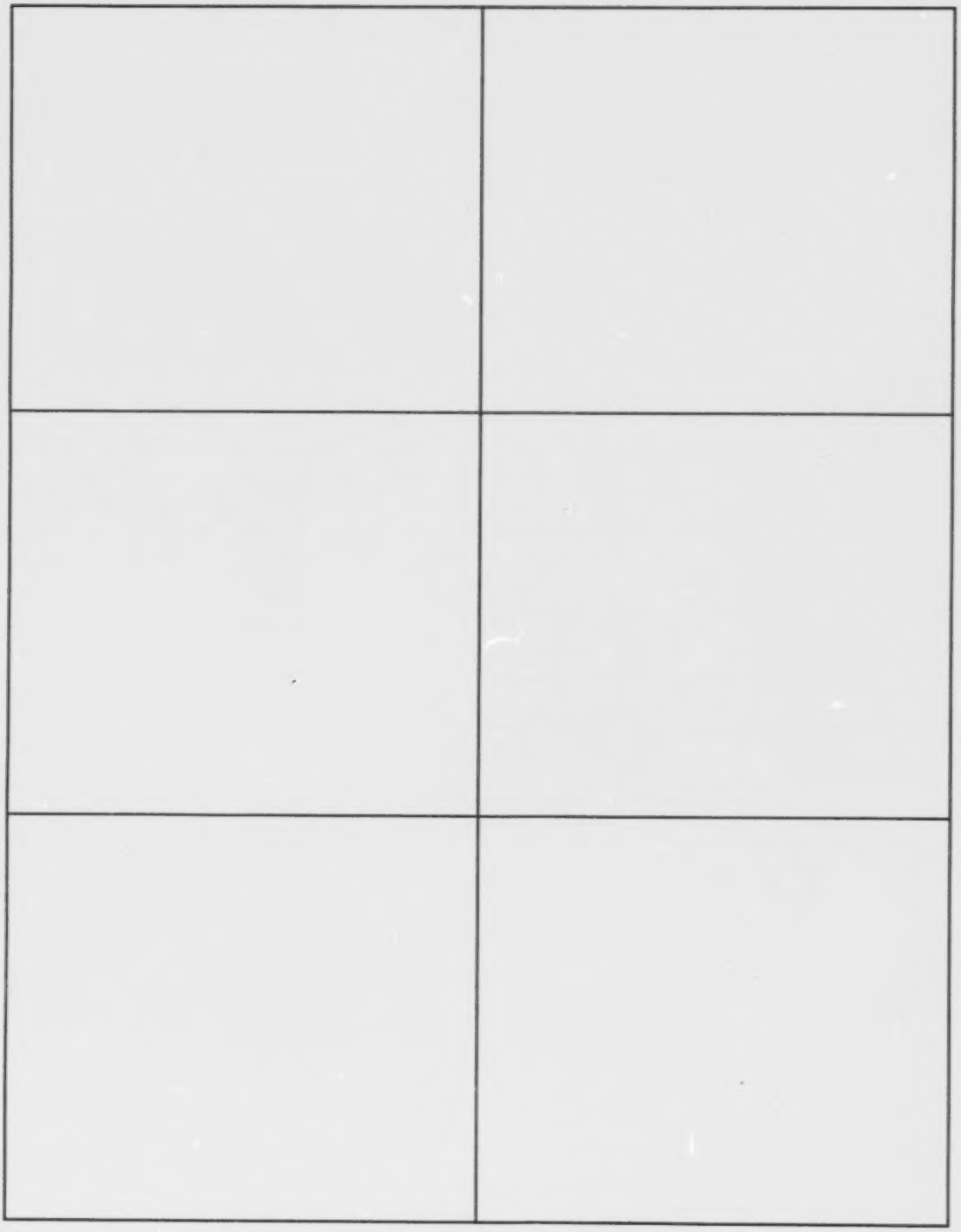
activity #1

PICTURE BRIDES



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INTERVIEW ON ANGEL ISLAND

Form 348

Department of Commerce and Labor
IMMIGRATION SERVICE
SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

No. 12667
18-19

May 8, 1913
A meeting of a
BOARD OF SPECIAL INQUIRY
ANGEL ISLAND STATION
composed of

In the matter of
the application of

SHIZUNO NISHIMORI
Japanese P.B.

Ex. S.S. TENYO MARU
May 5, 1913 at S F
For admission to the
UNITED STATES

Born Japan 1895

Inspector	D. J. Griffiths, Chr.
Inspector	J. A. Robinson
Inspector Clerk	E. L. Kimmel
Stenographer	H. Schmoldt
Interpreter	B. C. Haworth

Medical certificate release

Held for SPECIAL INQUIRY by Inspector W. H. Swasey as LPC
By Chairman:- - Applicant sworn -

Q What is your name and age? A. Shizuno Nishimori, age 18 years and 7 months. (presents passport 232722 dated March 23, 1913 to U.S.A.)
Q Are you a subject of the Emperor of Japan? A. Yes.
Q Did you arrive here on the SS. Tenyo Maru on the 5th inst? A. Yes from Yokohama.
Q What were you doing for a living in Japan? A. I helped my father and my family at home who are farmers.
Q How many times have you been married? A. This is the first time.
Q When did this take place? A. In March of last year by photograph. (presents photo of alleged husband)
Q If landed now are you willing to be married according to the laws and customs of this state? A/ yes.

Alleged husband appears:-
Q Who is this man? A. My husband.

Witness sworn:-
Q Who is this woman? A. My wife.
Q What is your name and age? A. Taichi Nishimori, age 31. (presents consular certificate)
Q Are you a subject of the Emperor of Japan? A. Yes.
Q How long have you been in the U.S.? A. Since 1906.
Q Did you come directly form Japan to this country? A. I came from Hawaii.
Q Did you arrive at this port on the SS. Alameda June 20, 1906? A. It was in June 1906. (presents passport 35722 dated April 18, 1906, stamped SS. Alameda, June 20, 1906)
Q Have you been out of the U.S. since that time? A. No.
Q What is your business? A. Farmer at Gardena, Los Angeles County, Cal.
Q Have you any evidence to show that you have been in the U.S. for that length of time other than that certifcate? A. I have tax receipt but I did not bring them with me.

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12667
18-19 (Shizuno Nishimori) 2 5/8/13

(alien produces land lease to the effect that Geo. W. Chandler has leased the witness some land in Los Angeles County for a term of years ending Dec. 2, 1914)

Q What is your net income from this land? A. About $700. or $800. on the average.
Q Have you any money with you? A. I have $190. with me.
Q Have you a bank account? A. Yes. (presents book which shows that he has $520. on deposit)
Q How many times have you been married? A. Only once.
Q When did this take place? A. I think it was March 18th of last year by photograph. (presents photo of alleged wife)
(presents family history which interpreter states verifies statement of witness and shows no other marriage)
Q If your wife is landed now are you willing to be married according to the laws and customs of this state? A. Yes.
Q What do you expect to do here if landed? A. Keep house for me.
Q What is your post office address? A. R.F.D. 149-D, Gardena.

By Chairman:- It is the unanimous opinion of the Board that inasmuch as the applicant seeks admission as the wife of Taichi Nishimori, an alien resident of the United States, by reason of a photograph marriage which is not recognized by the laws of California, that she be admitted, provided she shall be married according to the laws of California, and shall furnish satisfactory evidence of such marriage to the Commissioner of this port; and the applicant is so advised.

- - - - - -

I certify as to the correctness of the foregoing transcript.

H. Schmidt.
Stenographer.

A

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handout #2

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO PERU

As you read the handout, keep the following questions in mind.

- *What categories of migration are represented?*
- *How did the Japanese experience in Peru affect Japan–Peru relations?*
- *How was the experience of the Japanese in Peru affected by the United States?*

The Maria Luz Incident of 1872, involving a shipload of Chinese coolies destined for Peru, led the governments of Japan and Peru to establish diplomatic relations, the first between Japan and any Latin American state. The treaty of 21 August 1873, pledging peace and friendship, also hinted at trade, which, however, failed to materialize. In 1895, while seeking a treaty revision with other Western powers, Japan initiated the conclusion of a new, primarily economic treaty. However, Japan did not open a consulate in Peru until 1909, and established its first resident minister there only in 1921. Meanwhile, Peruvian authorities had repeatedly taken anti-Japanese stances, legislating anti-Asian laws and refusing a proposal that the two governments reciprocally permit physicians and dentists to practice their professions. The Treaty of Amity, Commerce, and Navigation of 1924, effective in 1930, was abrogated by Peru on 5 October 1934.

Following the outbreak of World War II between Japan and the United States in 1941 and the Rio de Janeiro Conference of the foreign ministers of the Western Hemisphere, Peru severed relations with Japan (24 January 1942) and declared war (12 February 1945) but did not engage in military action. After the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, the two countries reestablished consular and diplomatic relations. On 15 May 1957 their respective missions assumed embassy status. During the 1960s and 1970s, firsthand contacts by leading personalities included visits to Peru by Prince Mikasa, Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke, and Crown Prince Akihito, and reciprocating visits to Japan by President Manuel Prado (president from 1939–45 and 1956–62), numerous cabinet officers, and other Peruvian dignitaries.

Since 1990, Alberto Fujimori, the son of Japanese immigrants, has been president of Peru.

In 1899 a group of 790 Japanese farmers, recruited by the Morioka Emigration Company, migrated to Peru, initiating an era of contract emigrants. This arrangement, which continued until 1923, also involved the Meiji Colonization Company, the Orient Emigration Company, and the Overseas Development Company. Altogether, 17,764 immigrants were recruited from numerous prefectures, especially from Okinawa. After 1923, although some still migrated through the auspices of emigration companies, the majority did so independently. Most of the immigrants, who had been invited by countrymen already settled in Peru, became city dwellers from the very beginning. During the economically depressed 1930s, the number of Japanese leaving Peru exceeded those entering that country. The census of 1940 counted 17,598, plus thousands of *nisei* (second generation).

Before World War II the urban Japanese living in Peru strengthened their sense of community through a continuing influx of immigrants, Japanese-language schools, and other societies. The cultural separatism of the Japanese, combined with charges of monopoly, especially in Lima in reference to barber shops and restaurants, nourished Peruvian hostility. This hostility surfaced in bitter newspaper

attacks, restrictive social and economic legislation, and the rioting of May 1940.

During World War II, 1,799 members of the Japanese community—*issei* (first-generation Japanese), *nisei*, and some Peruvian women married to Japanese—were deported to and interned in the United States. Even after the war most of them were refused reentry into Peru and sailed to Japan. Scarcely 5 percent of the internees were allowed to return to Peru. Remembering this hostility, in post-war years the Japanese have not shown any significant desire to migrate to Peru. However, a limited and temporary migration of highly specialized technicians has accompanied the introduction of Japanese capital and industrial operations.

In the late 1970s, the number of those of Japanese descent, the largest in Spanish America, exceeded 50,000, among whom the third and fourth generations were becoming increasingly Peruvianized.

Although all the early Japanese immigrants were agriculturally oriented, the urban areas, with their varied economic opportunities, soon drew most of them, the majority concentrating in the Lima-Callao area. Their presence, the requirements of their small businesses, the assistance of resident Japanese officials, and the disruption of normal channels of trade during World War I stimulated commerce between Peru and Japan. Much of this was conducted by the government-subsidized Orient Steamship Company. During the 1920s successive Japanese commercial missions included Peru on their Latin American itineraries. In the next decade currency devaluation and Japanese wartime needs added to the volume in trade.

However, prior to World War II, trade was secondary to immigration in Japanese-Peruvian relations, and compared to Peruvian trade with the United States, Great Britain, and Germany, the total was insignificant. Since World War II trade and investment have been the primary factors in Japanese-Peruvian relations. The recovery of the Japanese economy prompted the importation of mounting quantities of raw materials, metals, and alloys to Japan while the purchase of machinery and instruments reflected the Peruvian desire to industrialize.

Indicative of that growth was the attainment of the following levels of trade: $24,958,000 (1954), $205,195,000 (1967), and $376,076,000 (1973). Although the overall Japanese–Latin American trade balance since World War II has generally been in favor of Japan, that with Peru has been consistently unfavorable.

Investment in Peru, a post–World War II phenomenon, has focused on the mining of copper, lead, zinc, and other minerals needed by Japanese industry. Feasibility studies encouraged Japanese investment in a widening range of activities, including motor vehicle production, fertilizers, and fishing. As the Peruvian economy expands, the government has looked to Japan for machinery, financing, and technical skills. Loans and technical assistance often accompanied the sale, installation, and early operation of petrochemical, power transmission, communication, and other equipment.

Source: "Peru and Japan," *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), vol. 6, pp. 178–179.

JAPANESE–LATIN AMERICAN INTERNEES OF WAR

As pointed out in the handout, "Japanese Immigration to Peru," during World War II, 1,799 members of the Japanese community —*issei* (first-generation Japanese), *nisei*, and some Peruvian women married to Japanese— were deported to and interned in the United States. The U.S. government forced their migration over international borders and their incarceration in U.S. Department of Justice internment camps. Most of the Japanese Latin Americans were interned in a former migrant labor camp at Crystal City, Texas. They were interned for several reasons: because of their race; their influential roles as community leaders, farmers, or businesspeople; anti-immigrant sentiments; and their perceived threat to Allied interests. This was all done without indictments or hearings.

Over 800 Japanese Latin Americans were included in prisoner-of-war exchanges with Japan that took place in 1942 and 1943. The remaining Japanese Latin Americans were interned until the end of the war. Because their passports were confiscated en route to the United States, these internees were declared "illegal aliens" and told they would be deported from the United States.

Over 350 Japanese Peruvians remained in the United States and fought deportation in the courts with hopes of returning to their homes in Peru. At first, the Peruvian government refused to re-admit any Japanese Peruvians, even those who were Peruvian citizens or married to Peruvian citizens. As a result, between November 1945 and June 1946, over 900 Japanese Peruvians were deported to war-devastated Japan. Eventually, about 100 Japanese Peruvians were able to return to Peru. It was not until June 1952 that the Japanese Peruvians who stayed in the United States were allowed to begin the process of becoming permanent U.S. residents. Many later became U.S. citizens.

Source: "Campaign for Justice" newsletter, P.O. Box 901, El Cerrito, California 94530.

Group Task

The letter on the next page was written by a Japanese Peruvian, Kishiro Hayashi, while he was interned in Crystal City, Texas. It was reproduced with permission from Amelia Morimoto and the Museo Conmemorativo de la Inmigración Japonesa en el Perú. The letter was written to Mr. Kazuo Iida, a fellow Japanese Peruvian who remained in Peru during the war. Read the translation of the letter and imagine you are Mr. Iida. As a group, write a letter back to Mr. Hayashi.

LETTER FROM AN INTERNEE OF WAR

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LETTER FROM AN INTERNEE OF WAR

Translation of a letter written by a Japanese Peruvian interned in the United States to a fellow Japanese Peruvian in Peru. (Note: Parts of the letter were difficult to read. These are indicated by brackets [ ].) The letter was postmarked September 17, 1945.

Dear Mr. Kazuo Iida:
I will leave it up to you to imagine how glad I was to hear from you after the long absence. Thank you for taking the time to write to me. Please accept my apologies [ ]. I heard from my neighbor that you got engaged [ ]. I would wholeheartedly like to congratulate you. Your letter says that an influenza is going around due to the bad climate. I am praying that you do take good care of your precious body. The lingering summer heat makes it easier to spend each day. Our whole family is fine [ ]. On August 7th, my wife delivered a healthy boy whom we named "Harumichi." We had been worried about having a baby for the first time in a foreign country, but it wasnŌt as hard as we had expected it to be. It was an easy, safe delivery, and he is not difficult, very healthy, and cries a lot. Both the mother and the baby are steadily gaining weight.

Please do not worry. We, Japanese compatriots in this country, have been prudent and attentive to how things progress, and the state of the world is [ ] moving toward a long-awaited peace. Are we ever going to be freed from the long internment life that has lasted three years now? Is our suffering, after all, going to be worth enduring (when we look back)? Or, as you said, if I am to never see you again [ ]. [ ] in the near future, the morning sun will shine over the world and we can meet again. Is it silly to believe so?

How are the public sentiments toward the Japanese there? The present situation of the Japanese civilians and of those in the same business predicts progress in the future, similar to the one we had prior to the war. I would like you to let me know in detail. [ ] I close by asking you for your response. September 14th.

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handout #3

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO BRAZIL

As you read the handout, keep the following questions in mind.

- *What categories of migration are represented?*
- *How did the Japanese experience in Brazil impact Japan–Brazil relations?*
- *What is the U-turn migration phenomenon?*

It was on 18 June 1908 that the first Japanese immigrants, 781 in number, landed from the steamer *Kasato Maru* at the port of Santos. Since then Japanese have continued to emigrate to Brazil, except for temporary interruptions during the two world wars. Naturally, there have been fluctuations in the number of emigrants, depending upon social and economic conditions in the two countries. Although the Japanese are relative latecomers to Brazil compared to European immigrant groups such as the Germans and Italians, whose roots go back to the 19th century, they have joined their predecessors in making substantial contributions to Brazilian society while at the same time raising their own status within that society. Their achievements in starting out as agricultural laborers and going on to play an important role in the growth and improvement of Brazilian agriculture have created the present positive image now enjoyed by Brazilians of Japanese descent in Brazilian society at large.

Emigration to Brazil

The history of Japanese emigration to Brazil may be roughly divided into three periods. During the first, from 1908 to 1924, there were 40,000 Japanese emigrants. The government of the state of São Paulo provided half of their traveling expenses and received them as contract laborers (*colonos*) on coffee plantations. The second period, from 1925 to 1941, was the peak period of Japanese emigration, prompted partly by the worldwide depression that started in 1929 and partly by the encouragement of the Japanese government. This period recorded 150,000 emigrants to Brazil. Most of them, like their predecessors, were contract laborers on coffee plantations, but some settled as independent farmers in the states of São Paulo, Paraná, and Pará. The third or postwar period began in 1953, when emigration was resumed, and by 1977 about 60,000 more Japanese had relocated in Brazil. Since Japan entered its period of high economic growth in the 1960s, however, the number of emigrants has decreased to less than 100 a year. Thus, total Japanese immigration over the 70 years since 1908 amounts to approximately 250,000.

In the early 1980s the Japanese population in Brazil was estimated at over 800,000, of which about 20 percent were immigrants born in Japan. Although all the Brazilian states have some Japanese population, 75 percent of the total is concentrated in the state of São Paulo area. One factor contributing to this pattern is the large number of Japanese engaged in truck farming and horticulture. Another is that, as a result of the increasing diversity of occupations among Japanese, many now work in urban industries. In particular, many of the children born to first-generation immigrants on farms and sent to cities for higher education have tended to remain there. However, this concentration in large cities is partially countered by a simultaneous trend toward dispersion into newly developing inland areas.

Agricultural Area

The Japanese contribution to Brazil's agricultural development has been especially noteworthy, and agricultural activity also formed the basis for the later Japanese entry into commerce and industry. At the outset, Japanese merchants dealing in farm tools and fertilizer found customers chiefly among Japanese farmers, while Japanese

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manufacturers in rural towns began by processing agricultural products or making farm equipment.

The contributions made by Japanese immigrants in agriculture took three main forms, of which the first was the introduction and improvement of foreign plants. Japanese immigrants brought with them numerous plants ranging from fruit trees to vegetables and ornamentals. Several, such as rape (*tsukena*), Japanese radish (*daikon*), shallot (*rakkyo*), shaddock (*ponkan*), kumquat (*kinkan*), persimmon (*kaki*), and loquat (*biwa*), have become popular among Brazilians. The second was the introduction of new agricultural techniques. The Japanese style of intensive farming on a small unit of land has proven innovative in Brazil. A good example of technology transfer, it has been further adapted to local conditions and gradually adopted by Brazilian farmers.

The third major contribution was the foundation of several large-scale cooperative associations, such as the Cotia Industrial Cooperative, and the São Paulo Central Association, by Japanese immigrants. Although they were originally started to help Japanese to purchase production equipment and to merchandise their produce, they have grown remarkably, along with the economies of their regions, and today they rank among the leading agricultural organizations of Brazil. Special mention is due to the "Cotia Youth," 2,500 young Japanese immigrants accepted under an agreement between the Brazilian government and the Cotia Industrial Cooperative between 1955 and 1967, who are now making major contributions to Brazil's agricultural development.

Urban Areas

From the 1950s on a notable shift began among the Japanese population from agricultural to other industries. Although this was in keeping with the general demographic trend in Brazil, there were also particular circumstances that motivated Japanese immigrants toward cities. As they made up their minds to remain in Brazil instead of Japan, many of them moved to cities for the education of their children. Also, an increasing number of the second- and third-generation Japanese in Brazil began to find careers in the professions, commerce, and industry.

Behind this transition lay what may be termed an identity crisis, which constituted a turning point in the history of Japanese immigration in Brazil. The news of Japan's defeat in World War II had left many Japanese immigrants, like the Japanese in Japan, in utter despair. Their identity as Japanese, which had always provided spiritual support for them in meeting the difficulties they encountered in a foreign country, was now lost. There were even hostilities between those who recognized the fact. When they finally emerged from this period of confusion, which continued for almost 10 years into the early 1950s, they regained a peace of mind based not on their identity as Japanese, as in the prewar period, but rather as Japanese Brazilians.

After having overcome this identity crisis they showed a marked difference in their attitudes. Many sold their farms and moved to São Paulo, running small businesses in order to give their children access to higher education. Thus, the number of Japanese youth continues today. Japanese Brazilians employed in tertiary industries (commerce, services, communications, public service, and so forth) now outnumber those in agriculture. According to a study undertaken at the University of São Paulo, the percentage of students of Japanese descent among those granted admission to the university in 1978 were: 17 percent in engineering and architecture; 15 percent in medicine, pharmacology, and biology; and an average of 12.8 percent in all other fields. Japanese Brazilians are now active in all areas of life in Brazil: politics, the academic world, finance, the arts, and Brazilian culture in general.

Another notable change is the increasing frequency of marriage with non-Japanese Brazilians. Until the 1950s ethnic purism prevailed among Japanese immigrants, and young Japanese who sought to marry Brazilians met strong objection from their parents. In the 1960s, however, parents grew more lenient, and today intermarriage has become so common that almost every Japanese family has Brazilians of non-

handout #3

Japanese ancestry among the spouses of their relatives.

New Patterns

Immigration has taken different forms over the years. Japanese immigrants to Brazil until 1941 consisted mostly of workers on coffee plantations. In the first decade or so of the postwar period, too, most of the immigrants from Japan were laborers and independent farmers. Since Japan entered its period of high economic grõwth, however, the number of immigrants has decreased sharply and, instead, Japanese corporations have become major "immigrants," bringing capital, technology, and personnel. Although most Japanese employees of these corporations are only temporary residents in Brazil and therefore may not properly be called immigrants, the corporations themselves settle and operate in Brazil permanently. Moreover, some employees who go to Brazil for a temporary stay decide to remain there.

U-Turn Migration

In 1990, the Japanese government passed a revised immigration law that allowed Japanese Latin Americans to acquire visas to perform unskilled labor in Japan. Although the law was not officially designed to import labor from the Japanese–Latin American community, it did create a new channel through which unskilled laborers could enter Japan legally. Thus, when increasing numbers of Japanese Latin Americans boarded planes for Japan during the early 1990s, *dekasegi*—a Japanese term meaning to work away from home—became *dekasegui* in Portuguese and Spanish. A new migration phenomenon had begun. At this time in Latin America, countries like Peru and Brazil faced high inflation, lower standards of living, and financial instability. As a result of the rapid increase of Japanese Latin Americans in Japan, several complex issues have arisen, e.g., language barriers, employment conditions, and schooling for the children of Japanese Latin Americans.

Source (except for the section U-Turn Migration): "Brazil, Japanese Immigrants in," *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), vol. 1, p. 169.

Group Task

The short personal stories on the next few pages were written by Japanese Brazilians and Japanese Peruvians currently living in Japan. Utilize the stories to write a poem or lyrics for a song. A poem on pages 40–41 by a Japanese Peruvian living in Japan is included as an example. Also, lyrics for the song "Ganbateando" are included on page 42. The song is also available on cassette tape. Your group may want to listen to it.

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A Japanese Brazilian in Japan

Rafael Masahiro Atsumi: second-generation Japanese Brazilian, age 38

Two years have passed since I arrived in this enigmatic, peculiar country. My suitcase is full of souvenirs and gifts, but more importantly, it is full of hope. Leaving my wife, family, and friends in Brazil, I came to Japan not knowing the culture and language I would find here. The language and customs were the first problems I encountered in Japan, and they have not disappeared completely from my life. Rather, I've come to accept them as part of the reflection process I've experience over the past couple of years.

To me, these two years seem like four, or five. They've made me think deeply about who I am and why I've come to Japan. In a sense, I feel like I'm continuing the journey started by my parents which my own daughter and son will continue. My parents went to Brazil with the same illusions and dreams I had before coming to Japan. They thought about returning to their home country, but never did. Now, I'm doing it in their absence.

History repeats itself in an inverse sense. Now, generations later, we have the chance to do the same thing our parents and grandparents did. We can sacrifice for our children the way our parents made sacrifices for us. Nothing comes free in life. If we haven't learned from our elders what it means to work hard to reach our goals, now is our opportunity to put what we've learned into action here in Japan.

For me, it's important to learn Japanese and adapt to Japanese society. Japan is a part of my family history, so coming here has taught me to appreciate my parents' culture. Often, it is hard for me and I long for my home in São Paolo.

Someday, I hope my children will come to Japan, but not to work. Rather, I would like them to have the opportunity to study Japan's history and language, and become friends with Japanese people. If I work hard now, my children will be able to study and thus earn the respect of the Japanese.

activity #3

JAPANESE PERUVIAN IN JAPAN

Eriko Garcia: third-generation Japanese Peruvian, age 15 (Eriko returned to Peru in 1997.)

In 1993, I left my home in Lima, Peru, to join my parents, who were working in Japan. At that time, Peru was suffering from terrorist attacks and a poor economy, so my parents worried about my safety. Eventually, we all decided that it was best for us to live together in Japan. I was quite worried, though, because before going to Japan I couldn't speak any Japanese and I didn't know much about Japanese culture.

When I arrived in Japan, I started to attend middle school in Gunma Prefecture, but soon I transferred to another school in a different part of the country because my dad decided to change jobs for higher pay. Although the language was difficult for me at first, I felt impressed by my peers' diligence. Compared to my country, Japan seemed so wealthy and exciting.

At first I thought that Japanese people were all kind, warm people who listened to one other and kept an open mind. However, I soon began to realize that many Japanese discriminate against foreigners. In Japan, people won't sit next to foreigners on the train and sometimes they call foreigners "*gaijin*" (literally, "outsiders"). It's also hard for foreigners to rent an apartment because they need to have a Japanese guarantor to support them.

At school, my classmates teased me a lot and called me "stupid" because I couldn't speak Japanese very well. They always made me feel left out and eventually I didn't feel like going to school anymore, so I told my mom that I wanted to go back to Peru because I couldn't fit in at a Japanese school. My mom seemed really sad to hear how I felt and then I realized that life in Japan was not easy for my parents either. We were all there to save money for our family so we could have a better life in Peru. My mom asked me to try my best to learn Japanese and to make Japanese friends, and for her, I decided to study the Japanese language and try to overcome my classmates' bullying.

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A JAPANESE BRAZILIAN IN JAPAN

Arturo Oshima: third-generation Japanese Brazilian, age 19

My brother, Alvaro, and I were born outside of São Paolo, Brazil. We graduated from junior high school and worked for our father tending to the crops on our small farm. In 1992, we came to Japan because of the high inflation rates in Brazil. It was just too expensive to survive with our family's income and we were worried about the future of our country.

Alvaro was the first person in my family to go to Japan. He left Brazil in 1989, and stayed with some of our relatives on their farm in Okinawa where he helped care for the pigs and chickens. After a couple of years in Okinawa, he came back to Brazil but soon returned to Japan with me to look for a job on the main islands. At first we asked for a work visa, but since we learned that Japan doesn't give work visas, we had to ask a friend who works for a travel agency to get us the appropriate documentation to enter Japan as tourists. Now we have to pay back our friend for his help in securing visas for us.

Currently, we're both working for a glass manufacturer in Ibaragi Prefecture. The plant's work conditions aren't great, but our income is pretty high. Each month we earn about the equivalent of US$1,500. We live with two other young *dekasegi* workers from Brazil in a small apartment. Our rent and food cost about $1,000 a person, so we can save about $500 each every month. The hardest thing about being here is the language. Although I can't speak the language, I look Japanese, so I often feel embarrassed when Japanese people talk to me and I don't understand them. Sometimes, Japanese people will shout something to me at work or out on the street and I don't know how to respond. Because I can't speak the language I sometimes feel as if I'm experiencing a kind of discrimination.

At the same time, though, I think that many of us Japanese Brazilians feel prejudice toward other foreign workers like Pakistanis and Iranians. We just stick together with people similar to ourselves. Outside the factory, I rarely talk with Japanese people besides my relatives in Okinawa since I have many Brazilian friends who work at the same factory and live nearby. In a way, I'm luckier than most *dekasegi* workers since my relatives in Okinawa are so supportive of my brother and me.

In another year, my brother and I want to return to Brazil and use the money we've saved to buy ourselves cars and start paying for a house for our family.

activity #3

A Japanese Peruvian in Japan

Pamela Shimabukuro: third-generation Japanese Peruvian, age 21

When I arrived in Narita Airport in 1993, the first thing the *contratista* (labor broker) did was take my passport away, explaining that I could get it back in three months after my flight from Lima had been paid for with my earnings from my new job.

After graduating from high school, I started studying education at the University of San Marcos in Lima. I loved my classes, but at the time, it was dangerous to be a student because of all the terrorist involvement and student movements. Besides, inflation was so bad that I couldn't really afford to take classes without working, so I decided to take a job at a supermarket with plans to return to school after six months of full-time work.

In Lima, I was never really part of the Japanese community, but I always identified myself as a Japanese. My grandparents still spoke Japanese with one another and I always thought my grandmother looked so beautiful in the *kimono* she wore for special occasions. Besides the images of Japan presented by my grandparents, I also became familiar with Japan through the newspapers, which always praised Japan for its high technology and rapid development. Japan seemed like a place where everyone worked hard and lived luxuriously.

The image I had of Japan is much different from my impression now. Here, I work about ten hours a day cleaning at a small hotel on the Izu peninsula, a popular tourist destination. Since my Japanese isn't very good, no one at work ever tries to talk with me, and when I meet other Japanese people in public, they always look at me strangely because of my inability to speak their language. Sometimes, I hear the guests at the hotel talking about me. Usually, they're addressing the fact that I'm a *gaijin* (outsider/foreigner). I miss Peru a lot. Although Peru has many economic and political problems, I think the people there are really warm and friendly. They really know how to have fun and relax. In Japan, the people are nice to foreign tourists, but they're not open to long-term foreign residents like myself.

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A JAPANESE BRAZILIAN IN JAPAN

Alfonso Maeda: third-generation Japanese Brazilian, age 26

In Brazil I studied communications and worked as a freelance journalist, but now I'm working on the line at a motor parts factory in Sakai City near Osaka. My grandparents immigrated to Brazil with their families when they were just in elementary school, so they don't recall much about their early lives in Japan. They belonged to several Japanese associations in São Paolo and owned a small restaurant in the Japanese part of the city until they passed away a few years ago. My parents were also active in the Japanese community in São Paolo, so naturally, as a child I studied *karate* and took Japanese lessons so I could learn to read and write in Japanese. I hated studying the characters, though, and gave up when I was in the second grade. Since then, I've forgotten most of the *katakana* and *hiragana* (Japanese syllabary), but I'm slowly learning again.

Before coming to work in Japan, I had always pictured Japan as a perfect society without poverty and crime like São Paolo. I thought the Japanese people were all kind like my grandparents and always worked hard to maintain harmonious relationships with their neighbors. Needless to say, after experiencing life in Japan, I felt shocked at the discriminatory attitudes the Japanese hold towards Japanese Brazilians like myself.

I think that the Japanese people have distorted images of Brazil. Most of my Japanese co-workers seem to associate Brazil with the Carnival festival in Rio, the Amazon River, and of course, coffee. I think they'd be surprised to know that I don't live in the jungle. Once I read that a Japanese newspaper survey asked its readers what foreign country they feel closest to, and guess what? Most people answered, "The United States." I think this says a lot about Japan. Even though Japan is physically closer to China, and shares cultural characteristics with its East Asian neighbors, Japanese people feel psychologically closer to the United States. It is no wonder that they know so little about places like Brazil.

One Sunday afternoon I was playing soccer at a Japanese elementary school with my Brazilian friends from work. The sun was setting and as we left the school grounds two men drove by in their car and yelled to us, *"Gaijin! kuni ni kaere!"* (Foreigners! Go back to your own country!). In Japan, I always feel like an outsider. When I ride the train and speak to my Brazilian friends in our own language, people around us start saying things like "look at the foreigners." Even worse, although I tried to rent an apartment on my own, every realtor in this city told me I needed a Japanese guarantor to sign the housing contract. Simple things like renting a place to live are so difficult for us because some Japanese can't trust foreigners.

Brazil has its share of problems, but its people are sincere. If you're lost on the street, you can ask for directions and people will take the time to help you find your way. I really miss the friendliness of my home country. Although I get paid a lot to work here, I'm not using my education at all and I'm not developing any useful skills. After I earn enough money here, my dream is to return to São Paolo to start a small publishing business. Until then, though, the Japanese will continue to identify me as just another *dekasegi* laborer.

activity #3

A Japanese-Peruvian Poem

Nostalgia al Pie de Fujisan (Nostalgia at the Foot of Mount Fuji)

(Japanese words are italicized and translated in parentheses next to each line)

Cerca a las faldas	Near the slopes
del Monte Fuji	of Mount Fuji
Por Yoshiwara, por Tagonura	In Yoshiwara, in Tagonura (place names in Japan)
Fujinomiya y Fuji City	Fujinomiya and Fuji City (place names in Japan)
Muchos peruanos	Many Peruvians
Trabajan ya.	Work now.
"Hai," suerte la de unos,	*"Hai,"* the luck of some, (Yes)
penas las de otros	the hardship of others
pues, el "shigoto"	well, the *"shigoto"* (work)
No es nada fácil	Is nothing easy
Aqui en Japón.	Here in Japan
Unos están contentos	Some are happy
de haber logrado	to have arrived
Estar en la cima	To be at the peak
del "Fujisan."	of "Mount Fuji."
Pero no todo es gozo	But not all is to enjoy
muchos peruanos	many Peruvians
sufriendo están,	are suffering,
¡Felícidad! señores	What happiness! gentlemen
llegó ¡Tegami! desde Perú.	It's arrived *"tegami!"* from Peru. (letter)
La alegría es inmensa	The joy is immense
es nuestra primera carta	it's our first letter
entre lágrimas y penas	between tears and sorrow
la emoción nos condena	the emotion condemns us
a sollozar.	to sob
Tristes nos encontramos	We find sadness
Es que extrañamos	Because we miss
nuestras familias,	our families,
nuestras costumbres	our customs
nuestro Perú.	our Peru.
Cuanto queremos escribirles	How we want to write them
Sólo podemos decirles	All we can say to them
Domo arigato gozaimasu.	*Domo arigato gozaimasu.* (Thank you very much)
Nunca olvidaré	I will never forget
en mi memoria	in my memory
la gran historia que nos legó.	the great history which we inherited.
el Machu Picchu	Machu Picchu (historical place in Peru)
Ollantaytambo y	Ollantaytambo and (historical place in Peru)
Sacsaihuamán.	Sacsaihuamán. (historical place in Peru)

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Es hermoso nuestro Misti
las Chullpas de Sillustani,
el misterioso Markahuasi,
líneas de Nazca
y el gran Chan Chan.

Imponente Huascarán
y el inmenso Titicaca,
Portada de Tiahuanaco,
ni qué decir de sus huacos,

nuestra herencia nacional.

Quisiera nombrarlo todo
cuánto quisiera, sumimasen
kireina es mi tierra
kampai señores
¡Viva el Perú!

Ganbatte ne peruano
ganbatte kudasai
unidos en consenso
rompamos el suspenso
¡cambiemos ya!
dozo mi hermano
¡cambiemos ya!

Sayonara, sayonara
ki o tsukete kudasai
sayonara tomodachi
ki o tsukete kudasai
recuerden la frase amiga
Cuídate mucho
por favor.

"El Cholo Nicho"
by Luís Nicho Hiraoka

It's beautiful, our Misti (mountain in Peru)
las Chullpas de Sillustani, (historical place in Peru)
the mysterious Markahuasi, (historical place in Peru)
the Nazca lines (historical place in Peru)
and the great Chan Chan. (historical place in Peru)

Impressive Huascarán (historical place in Peru)
and the immense Titicaca, (lake in Peru)
The facade of Tiahuanaco (historical place in Peru)
nor what to say about her huacos, (huacos is a type of pre-Inca ceramics made of clay)
our national heritage.

I would like to mention all of them
How would I like to, *sumimasen* (I apologize)
kireina is my land (beautiful)
kampai gentlemen (cheers)
Long live Peru!

Ganbatte ne Peruvian (Hang in there)
ganbatte kudasai (hang in there, please)
United in consensus
we break the suspense
Let's change now!
dozo my brother (please)
Let's change now!

Sayonara, sayonara (goodbye, goodbye)
ki o tsukete kudasai (be careful, please)
sayonara tomodachi (goodbye friend)
ki o tsukete kudasai (be careful, please)
remember the friendly phrase
Take care of yourself
please.

Source: Luís Nicho Hiraoka, "Nostalgia al pie de fujisan," *Perú Shimpo*, June 11, 1991.

activity #3

JAPANESE-PERUVIAN SONG LYRICS

Ganbateando (Hanging In There)

Era una noche oscura	It was a dark night
ya nadie va caminando	Noone out walking
Está con sus dos maletas	Out with his two suitcases
el DC-10 esperando	Waiting for the DC-10
Con sueños e ilusiones	With dreams and illusions
y una deuda pendiente	And a pending debt
Ramón se va a trabajar	Ramon's going off to work
al país del sol naciente	In the land of the rising sun
Aquí lo que más le cuesta	Here the hardest thing
es poder comunicarse	Is to communicate
entre tanta indiferencia	Within all the indifference
difícil es aguantarse	It's hard to take it
Aparte de la rutina	Apart from the unending, heavy routine
interminable y pesada	There are people who discriminate
hay gente que discrimina	And it bothers him for no reason at all
y lo provoca por nada	
Para matar la tristeza	To kill the sadness
que tiene en su corazón	That he has in his heart
por la familia que espera	For the family that waits for him
"Ganbateando va Ramón"	Ramon's *ganbateando*
"Ganbateando" sí "ganbateando" va	We're *ganbateando*
y seguimos "ganbateando"	And we continue *ganbateando*
Así comienza la "chambra"	That's how the job starts
Ocho horas y con "zanguio"	Eight hours and overtime
después de comer a dormir en el "ryo"	After eating, to sleep in the dorm
y en sueños Ramón cantó . . . . Salsa!	And in his dreams, Ramon sings . . . *Salsa!*

Source: "Ganbateando," from the 1993 CD *Okinawa Latina* by Diamantes; courtesy Bad News Music Publishing Co., Inc., Tokyo, Japan.

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JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

As you read the handout, keep the following questions in mind.

- *What categories of migration are represented?*
- *How did the Japanese experience in Canada impact Japan–Canadia relations?*
- *How was the experience of the Japanese in Canada affected by the Japanese experience in the United States?*

The history of the Japanese and Japanese Canadians in Canada may be conveniently divided as follows: the period up to 7 December 1941, the Pacific War and its constraints up to 1 April 1949, and the period since 1949.

From 1877 to 1941

The first Japanese settler in Canada is believed to have come in 1877. There was sparse but steady migration after that with a heavy, yet transitory, migration in the last years of the 1890s, when perhaps 12,000 immigrants came. The 1901 census found fewer than 5,000 Japanese in Canada, most of them in British Columbia. Between that census and 1941, the immigration data, admittedly sketchy in the early years of the century, showed an additional 25,000 Japanese arriving, with a peak of more than 10,000 in the years 1905–08. Yet the 1941 census showed only 23,149, of whom 13,687 (about 59 percent) were native-born Canadians. Some 96 percent of all Japanese Canadians lived in British Columbia, a concentration similar to, but greater than that existing on the Pacific Coast of the United States, where 74 percent of a considerably larger population resided in 1940. The settlement of Japanese along the Pacific Coast of North America can be regarded as one general migration: some who entered via Vancouver eventually settled in the United States, while some who entered at Seattle and other American ports settled in Canada.

During this period the Japanese-Canadian experience in British Columbia was one of relative success in the economic sphere and relative failure in social and political spheres. The Japanese immigrants accounted for only 2 to 3 percent of British Columbia's population. They were particularly important in fishing and agriculture, specializing in pomiculture and market gardening. Although few Japanese were rich or even well-to-do by 1941, most of them were at least of lower-middle-class status as petty entrepreneurs and small proprietors. These economic successes, however, were accompanied by political and social animosity, and probably even contributed to that animosity, although it was clearly inspired by racial prejudice. As was the case in the United States, Japanese immigrants in Canada followed a substantial immigration of Chinese, and, by the 1890s, western Canada had a full-blown anti-Oriental tradition with its own indigenous version of the "Yellow Peril" phobia. Canada, however, as a part of the British Empire, was inhibited by imperial concerns: the existence of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (1902–23) meant that it was impossible for Canada to pass the same kind of discriminatory legislation against Japanese immigrants that it had against Chinese, who were all but excluded by a prohibitively high head tax. Executive agreements between Canada and Japan kept immigration at a trickle after 1919; until the Pacific War, immigration averaged only 255 per annum, which was less than repatriation in many years. Canadian law allowed Japanese immigrants to become naturalized citizens on much the same terms as other aliens, and by 1941, 64 percent of the Japanese-born aliens in

Canada had become Canadian citizens. But in British Columbia, where almost all of the Canadian Japanese lived, the most important right of a citizen, the right to vote, was denied them. Persons of Asian birth or descent could not vote even if they were citizens, naturalized or native-born. This restriction is in sharp contrast to regulations in the United States, where Japanese and other Asians were not eligible for naturalization, but where all native-born citizens over 21 years of age could vote. These disparities can be explained by institutional differences between Canada and the United States: Canadian provinces could set up racially discriminatory suffrage requirements, while American states were obliged by a written national constitution to treat all citizens with at least formal equality.

World War II and the Immediate Postwar Period (1941-1949)

The Japanese attacks across the Pacific placed all Canadian Japanese, regardless of citizenship, nativity, or loyalty, in peril. Most Canadians were convinced that "once a Jap always a Jap," and as the Pacific War news worsened in the winter of 1941–42, there were rising demands for some kind of drastic action against Canadian Japanese. Although the Canadian military leadership was aware that the Japanese navy and army posed no real threat to British Columbia, and not a single act of sabotage or espionage by a resident Japanese was ever discovered, civilian fears approached panic proportions. Little evidence of a joint Canadian–American policy toward Japanese residents has been uncovered, but Prime Minister William Lyon Mackenzie King and other Canadian officials were willing to follow the American lead in many matters. Only five days after President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, which enabled the United States Army to evacuate West Coast Japanese Americans, Mackenzie King's government issued Order in Council PC 1486 (24 February 1942), which gave the government control over the movements of all persons of Japanese origin in certain "protected areas" including the hundred-mile-wide strip along the Pacific Coast where almost all Japanese Canadians lived. To accomplish what became an evacuation of some 20,000 men, women, and children, the government depended upon its national police force, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and a newly established federal body, the British Columbia Security Commission, which was empowered to require "any person of the Japanese race, in any protected area in British Columbia, to remain at his place of residence . . . or to proceed to any place within or without the protected area at such time and in such manner as the Commission may prescribe." Provisions were also made for an Alien Property Custodian to confiscate all property that Japanese were forced to abandon, including some 1,100 fishing boats which had been seized in early December. No adequate compensation was made for these confiscations. Those few Japanese who did not live in "protected areas," or who had been able to leave coastal British Columbia before the order, were not subjected to special federal restraint, but many local governments had anti-Japanese provisions of their own. In Calgary, Alberta, to cite one example, Canadian Japanese had to have special permits to reside within the city limits.

The Canadian government, unlike the American, did not spend large sums to incarcerate its Japanese residents. Rather than using troops and barbed wire, it utilized climate, geography, and a few policemen in forcing adults to stay in isolated "road camps"—some of them thousands of miles to the east in northern Ontario—and keeping women and children in remote rural villages called "interior housing centres." Some Japanese families were allowed into other provinces, chiefly southern Alberta, where, often under execrable conditions, they harvested sugar beets and other crops.

The end of the war, in August 1945, did not bring an end to the exclusion of Japanese Canadians from their former homes. The King government decided that "it would be unwise and undesirable . . .

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to allow the Japanese population to be concentrated in [British Columbia] after the war." Many of the restrictions on Japanese Canadians were simply kept in force; many of them were not allowed to return to coastal British Columbia until after 1 April 1949. In addition, both the government and private pressure groups encouraged persons of Japanese origin to remigrate or emigrate to Japan. As a result, the Japanese-Canadian population actually declined between 1941 and 1951—from 23,149 to 21,663—and, more significantly, the center of Japanese population shifted away from British Columbia where, by 1951, only one Japanese in three still lived.

Post-1949

The postwar years have seen great changes in the lives of Japanese Canadians and in the ways in which they are regarded by their fellow citizens. In a country which now embraces multiculturalism as an official policy, Japanese-Canadian citizens enjoy full rights, even in British Columbia. In 1964, Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, Mackenzie King's political heir, stated publicly that the treatment meted out to Japanese Canadians had been "a black mark against Canada's traditional fairness and devotion to the principles of human rights." The Japanese Canadian population has resumed its slow growth—the 1971 census found over 37,000—but Ontario rather than British Columbia is now the major locus of the Japanese-Canadian population. That population has become progressively more urbanized, and second- and third-generation Japanese Canadians have on the whole assimilated middle-class patterns of education and employment. Despite a small amount of resumed immigration from Japan and a steady population growth, some Japanese-Canadian leaders have posited the possible disappearance of the ethnic group due to the quite high rate of exogamous marriage among the third generation. At the same time, however, a heightened ethnic consciousness was becoming apparent in the late 1970s, in which organizations like the National Japanese Canadians Citizens Association sponsored research and publication about the Japanese-Canadian past and celebrated it with conferences and exhibitions. In addition, problems arising in the 1970s from Canada's traditional French–English rivalry have made most Canadians, regardless of ethnicity, more sensitive to ethnic and racial questions than ever before.

• • •

Professor Audrey Kobayashi has noted the following about Japanese Canadians:

Since the 1940s, Japanese Canadians have re-built their lives and their community. About a quarter of those exiled managed to return to Canada, starting during the 1950s. Other immigrants have come in relatively small numbers, and now make up about 25 percent of the current population of 65,000. Many of today's *Nikkei**—third, fourth, fifth, sixth generations known as *sansei*, *yonsei*, *gosei*, and *rokusei*—are the product of intermarriage with members of other ethnocultural groups. Most of the population today is centred in Vancouver and Toronto. In contrast to their *issei* forbears, contemporary *Nikkei* are urban and highly educated.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Japanese Canadians were too busy rebuilding their shattered lives to worry much about redress for their experiences. The *nisei* generation, in addition, felt ambivalent about speaking out and perhaps risking their new-found freedom. This situation began to change in 1977, when celebration of the centenary caused a coming-together of the community, and when discussions of redress began to reach the wider community. For the next decade, the National Association of Japanese Canadians worked on behalf of their community to negotiate a redress settlement, achieved in 1988 after a difficult battle, and tremendous effort that involved the coordination of many Japanese Canadians, as well as other communities and religious, labour, and human rights groups who provided support. The War Measures Act was revoked in April 1988. The redress settlement, announced in cabinet on the

handout #4

22nd of September, included an acknowledgment of injustice, individual payments of $21,000 to approximately 17,000 people, a community fund of $12,000,000, revoking of criminal records of those charged under the War Measures Act, re-institution of citizenship rights to those exiled to Japan, and the creation of a Canadian Race Relations Foundation. When established, it will be a most fitting expression of the long battle for human rights that has marked the history of the *Nikkei*.

Sources: "Canada, Japanese Immigrants in," *Kodansha Encyclopedia of Japan* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1983), vol. 1, pp. 238–239; Kobayashi, Audrey, "A Brief History of the Canadian *Nikkei*," *Nikkei Images*, January 1996.

* The term, *Nikkei*, in this context, refers to the Japanese who immigrated to Canada and their descendants.

In her doctoral dissertation, *Emigration from Kaideima, Japan, 1885–1950*, Professor Audrey Kobayashi, Queen's University, Ontario, describes overseas emigration from Japan to Canada. In it, she also describes the lives of five Japanese whose lives were impacted by the Japanese experience in Canada. These five Japanese reside in Kaideima. The lives of these five people reflect many of the events in Japanese-Canadian history and offer a very personal glimpse into the migration experience. Their stories are reprinted from her dissertation with permission from Professor Kobayashi.

Group Task

Your group will be developing a role play based on the stories of these five Japanese people whose lives were impacted by the Japanese experience in Canada. Assign each group member to read one of the Japanese immigrants' descriptions. Choose a significant event in Japanese-Canadian history and prepare a 10–15 minute role play based on this event.

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A Community Leader

Read the following description of Mr. A. Choose one of the following as a name: Mr. Azuma, Mr. Akizuki, Mr. Ando.

Mr. A. sits on the floor of his house for hours each day, poring over a sheaf of manuscripts, meticulously recording their contents on the paper in front of him. He works quietly, in an atmosphere that is as ordered and as purposeful as the characters that fill his copybook. Through the open screens, he surveys his garden, a beautiful, immaculate collection of pine trees, stones, and raked sand. The screens that surround him are of exquisite beauty, carved and painted to display the pervading themes of Japanese aesthetics. A flower arrangement graces one corner of the room. It is simple and unpretentious, yet the dish and the wooden tray that support it are of the finest materials. The serenity is broken only by the occasional intrusion of his wife, as she kneels to replace the cup of tea in front of him.

Mr. A will speak readily, and proudly, of this house, built by his father 70 years ago after two decades of successfully conducting business in Canada. It is built using methods now remembered by only a few aging artisans. Every beam is hand planed, and there is not a nail in the entire structure. It was assembled using only wooden pegs and skilled joining techniques.

Mr. A's father was not a wealthy man. Owning no agricultural land within the village, he made his living as an *Omi shonin*—not a wealthy merchant, but one who purchased what goods were locally available, carrying them on his back to sell in other parts of the country. He was successful at this occupation, and gained a measure of respect from the other villagers. In the early 1890s, he learned that opportunities were available in Canada, and he traveled to Vancouver, where he found employment in a sawmill in False Creek. Returning home the following year, he shared this opportunity with others in the village, and they followed him, starting the train of emigration that was to change the face of the village over the next 60 years.

On that trip, too, he purchased a supply of dishes and other utensils, things commonly used in the Japanese household, but unavailable in Canada. Others among the small community that was starting to grow in the Powell Street area of Vancouver saw these items, and wondered if they, too, might have them in Canada, so that they might prepare their meals in an accustomed manner and make life in Canada seem less foreign. Mr. A's father took orders, using his experience as an *Omi shonin* to establish the first of several dozen commercial enterprises that were to make Powell Street the centre of the Japanese community in Canada over the next several decades.

This man was not Mr. A's real father, but his adopted father. Mr. A was not born into this household. His parents lived next door to the spot where the present house now stands. His original father had been one of the villagers who followed his adopted father (to be) to Vancouver during the 1890s to work in the sawmills, and his mother, whom his father had married on a seasonal return to the village, had accompanied him to Vancouver a decade later. Mr. A was born on Powell Street in 1909. Although the Powell Street community was by then quite large, he was only the third child from this village to be born there.

At the age of six years he was brought back to the village, and enrolled in elementary school. Over the next several years, he traveled back and forth between Japan and Canada with his parents, and attended high school in Vancouver. Meanwhile, the eldest son of the household next door had died. As the third son of his own household and without prospect of inheriting position or property in the family, it was arranged that Mr. A be adopted.

activity #4

Within the new household, his position as heir was clearly established. His new father returned to Japan in 1920, leaving his now thriving Powell Street business to be run by a manager. As soon as Mr. A was old enough, he again traveled to Vancouver, along with his new bride, to assume responsibility for the business.

He managed the household's affairs in Canada until World War II, when he, his wife, and their two small children were placed in relocation camps, and the store was sold, for money which they never saw. His wife and both children died while interned, and he returned alone to Japan when the war ended.

There, he remarried and took over from his father as head of the household. He established a new career as manager of the local Farmers' Cooperative Union, and he served for a time as mayor of the village. Now, he lives the responsibility established by his father, labouring in his retirement to produce a record that will ensure that the history of emigration, and its importance to the village, will not be forgotten. His is the commitment of one who knows the terrible side of something, and believes in it anyway.

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A Grandmother

Read the following description of Mrs. I. Choose one of the following as a name: Mrs. Ikeda, Mrs. Ishida, Mrs. Itani.

A few houses away a feisty grandmother divides her time among household chores, concern that the affairs of the family are running smoothly, and visits with friends. She and her friends spend many hours together these days, cherishing a lifelong association. They sit around the warmth of the *kotatsu* (heated table) regaling one another with stories of past times, one moment huddled forward in conspiratorial intensity, the next rocking back on their heels in fits of laughter, stopping frequently to generate advice or admonition for the benefit of those around them.

Mrs. I was sent to Canada as a picture bride. At the age of 18, she was placed aboard a ship bound for Vancouver, with forty other young brides from all over Japan. It was all arranged by a company that took care of the legal proceedings and the details of the passage. When the ship docked, all the husbands were lined up there, each holding a photograph, waiting for his bride. Six of the others took one look and ran back up the gangway to return to Japan. A few others did not find their husbands waiting and spent frantic hours and days at a loss until other arrangements were made, or they could return to their villages. But Mrs. I found her husband, and stayed with him in Vancouver for more than forty years before coming back to Kaideima.

Her father-in-law had been among the earliest emigrants. He was the son of a stern and ambitious father, who had started life as the second son of another household, with no initial means of becoming anything but a tenant farmer. He had established a soya sauce manufacturing plant, and gradually turned its profits into agricultural landholdings, taking advantage of the Meiji government's new law that any citizen could acquire land according to his wishes. He built up to nearly two hectares, one of the largest holdings in the village, a thing unheard of among landless peasants. He felt that his son, Mrs. I's father-in-law, was a spendthrift, and would waste away his inheritance. When some of the other villagers began traveling to Vancouver to undertake sawmill labour, therefore, he sent his son along, hoping that the experience abroad would give him stability and responsibility.

His grandsons, who were part of the second generation of emigrants, did well in Canada. Mrs. I's husband invested in a drygoods store in the Powell Street area. The two of them ran the store until World War II when they and their two daughters were sent to a relocation camp. After the war, with the store gone, they returned to Japan, adopted a son to marry their eldest daughter, and continued to farm the family fields.

The brother of Mrs. I's father-in-law also went to Canada, where he worked for years as a fisherman, saving to return to Japan where he would build himself a home and work the land he had inherited. He, too, called upon his sons to follow him to Vancouver. The eldest of the two worked in a sawmill for a few years, then took his wife and children back to Japan to continue farming after his father retired.

The youngest was only 13 years at the time he left Japan. He had finished elementary school, and one year of middle school, but the tuition fees were too high to continue. As it was, he was the only child in the village to have completed even one year of middle school. In Canada, he was given an opportunity to work and to go to school at the same time. He was installed at the home of a cousin, who owned a drugstore on Powell Street, and his father left to go fishing on the Skeena River.

This was 1913. Thereafter, he set about a course of self-education. In return for his room and board and a small

amount of spending money, he spent his after-school hours as an errand boy. His duties consisted of running prescriptions from his relatives' drugstore, which was not licensed, to the drugstore owned by a white man. There, the prescription was filled, and he returned it to the Japanese drugstore, so that it could be dispatched to the Japanese patient.

He gives this account of the first years of his education:

> When I arrived in Canada I was unable to speak a word of English. So, during July and August I attended the English class of Sister Maria, known to Japanese as Omeriasan. When school opened in September my English was good enough to be admitted to grade three . . . of Strathcona School. At that time only six (Japanese) pupils attended Strathcona, whereas at the time of the Evacuation there were six hundred.

After a year at Strathcona, he moved to New Westminster, where he lived as a "school boy" in the home of an undertaker, and worked hauling coal. He recalls that in 1919, the year of the international influenza epidemic, he worked doubly hard to keep the morgue supplied with coal.

In 1921, he entered the University of British Columbia, which he attended until 1925, working nights as a janitor and teaching English to new immigrants. After graduation:

> My ambition was to become a physician but when I tried to enter the medical school many obstacles lay in my path because of my race and the colour of my skin. One school I was qualified to enter would not accept me because non-whites (could not) serve as intern(s) in hospitals. One medical school in Michigan was willing to accept me but the American Immigration Board wanted me to put up a large . . . cash bond which I didn't have. Finally one school in Missouri offered to put up the bond so I decided to go to the Kirksville College of Osteopathic Medicine, Missouri, U.S.A. While attending school, I worked as a busboy in a hotel dining room and during Christmas and summer holidays, I worked as a waiter at a country club in St. Louis.

He went on to become a physician, serving his residence at a Mexican hospital in Los Angeles. He was removed from his practice at the start of World War II, and sent to work in the interior camps. Eventually, he moved to the town of Lillooet, where he worked for many years as a salaried physician for the then Indian Department.

He is still there today, 84 years old, and still practising medicine among the people of Lillooet. In 1977, he became the second Japanese immigrant to receive the Order of Canada, in recognition of his work as a physician and in various public offices over the years. Returning to his village for a visit, he was welcomed as a hero.

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A Farmer

Read the following description of Mr. U. Choose one of the following as a name: Mr. Uchida, Mr. Uchiyama, Mr. Uota.

At the other end of the village, an elderly farmer passes rough, gnarled hands over a precious collection of papers and photographs assembled by his father and uncle while they were in Canada. He, too, lives in a fine traditional house, although perhaps not so fine as the others we have visited. He was not himself an emigrant, but he remembers that when he was a child his father left the house for a long time. When he returned they borrowed a wagon to go to the station to meet him, but the man who emerged from the train wearing fine Western clothes was unrecognizable as his father. He remembers his father coming and going a few times after that, although his mother always stayed behind with the children; and he remembers the circumstances of the household gradually improving as the years passed. He remembers, too, his uncle, his father's younger brother, coming home without the leg that had been left in a Vancouver sawmill. His uncle tried to stay on in the village after that, but he couldn't manage the work in the fields and eventually moved to Osaka, where he set up a confectionery shop. That's where he would have gone anyway, if he hadn't gone to Canada first.

activity #4

A Housewife

Read the following description of Mrs. E. Choose one of the following as a name: Mrs. Endo, Mrs. Enomoto, Mrs. Eto.

In another home, a middle-aged housewife, on her knees, slides open screens to reveal a beautiful entranceway of highly polished wood. Inside, she serves tea and cakes with the grace of one for whom the activities of homemaking have become an art. She was born in another village, and married into this emigrant family. Her husband was born in Canada, but returned to Japan when he was six years old. He does not remember very much about Vancouver.

But he has cousins he has never met, for his uncle, the second son of the family, was one of the 30 who did not return to the village. He went instead to Toronto after the war, and started a business there. Lately, both families, one in Kaideima, the other in Toronto, have had weddings, and she proudly displays one album after another, contrasting the exquisite formality of the Japanese wedding attire with the white elegance of the Canadian. There are pictures, too, of the Canadian cousins at the Toronto Japanese cultural centre, dressed in formal *kimono* to attend traditional dance lessons, and of Christmas dinners, the table laden with turkey and other things completely foreign to Kaideima. The explanations are written in English, and have no meaning for her, so she asks for a translation. The meaning of the words, however, is secondary to the fact that they establish a link between this house and the one in Toronto. They represent something special, that defines this household as having participated in an experience of which everyone is proud.

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A Household Head

Read the following description of Mr. O. Choose one of the following as a name: Mr. Otani, Mr. Obayashi, Mr. Ota.

Mr. O is a familiar figure in Kaideima. He rides his bicycle everywhere, from his house to his fields scattered here and there around the village. He stops often to talk to those he encounters, always smiling broadly, interested in everything that happens. He bears the mien of one who considers all the affairs of the village to be his own responsibility. And well he might, for he is one who knows better than most just how much this village stands for.

Mr. O looks back on a life of which all of the benefits and all of the heartbreaks of emigration have been a part. His grandfather had been born to one of the village's wealthiest families, but as a third son, he received no share of the family's holdings. He managed to survive the early years of the Meiji period as a tenant farmer, hanging on as best he could under condition of rapid change and relentless poverty. He had only one daughter, and in 1904, he arranged for that daughter to marry the son from a neighbouring household. That marriage brought the first turn for the better in the household's fortune, for with the new son came the opportunity for emigration, since the new son's father had been one of the first emigrants from the village and had good connections in the Vancouver sawmill industry. That same year, even before Mr. O was born, his father went off to work in Canada, and for most of his childhood, Mr. O did not understand what having a father meant. When he was eight years old his mother, too, left him, to join her husband in Vancouver. Mr. O stayed behind with his grandparents, to finish his elementary education, and to help farm the fields which the family had by now acquired with money sent home from Canada.

In the next ten years, a sister and three brothers were added to Mr. O's family, and in 1922 he was finally able to meet them all, when his mother returned for a visit and took him with her back to Canada. Now aged 18, he enrolled in grade one to learn English, and worked after school and weekends setting up pins in a bowling alley. This was the other side of a family maintained on two sides of an ocean.

A few years later he began work as a millwright. It was arranged that he should marry a girl who had been born in Canada, but whose parents had lived next door in the village. His new bride moved into the house in Vancouver. The 1930s were difficult in Canada. His father traveled to Toronto for work, and died there. Mr. O was now responsible for the entire family, both in Vancouver and in Japan. His wife, while pregnant, became ill (quite likely of tuberculosis, which was epidemic among Japanese immigrants at that time). Nonetheless, she gave birth to a daughter, and survived in time to see the beginning of World War II, and to be placed in an internment camp. During the war, the family broke up. Mr. O's younger brother and sister, born in Canada and knowing little of the ways of Japan, had been sent back to the village during the late 1930s in order to receive some Japanese education. Trapped there when hostilities broke out, it was arranged by relatives that the sister marry a man from a nearby village. The brother was conscripted into the Japanese army. He died in Hiroshima. Mr. O's wife, daughter, and two youngest brothers and sisters were sent to a camp called Lemon Creek. Mr. O, as an enemy alien, was separated from the rest and spent the duration of the war working in a road camp in the Rocky Mountains.

After the war, decisions had to be made. As head of the family, Mr. O had a responsibility to return to the village, with his mother, his wife, and his daughter, as soon as possible. He would

later take over management of the family holdings, and reap the benefits that years of labour in Canada had bought. The two younger brothers who had never seen Japan decided to remain in Canada. His wife's family, including her parents, also decided to remain in Canada, since they owned no land in the village, and would have found it very difficult to sustain themselves in the miserable conditions of postwar Japan.

Mr. O's mother returned to Japan after an absence of 34 years. She was a part of that generation of emigrants who gave up everything that the rest of the family, and future generations, might prosper. She had been separated from her husband for the first eight years of her marriage, had spent years in Vancouver toiling as a scrub woman, had been widowed at the age of 50. After being separated from her children, interned, and herded about the world like so much baggage, she had come home. Three years after her return to Japan, she died. But she died knowing that her son owned the house in which he lived, and owned the fields that produced rice for the family to sustain itself. Perhaps, therefore, she died believing that something had been accomplished. In the peculiar system of moral principles by which life in Kaideima is guided, that knowledge would have made her life, and its sacrifices, justified.

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JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO MEXICO

As you read the handout, keep the following questions in mind.

- *What categories of migration are represented?*
- *How did the Japanese experience in Mexico impact Japan–Mexico relations?*
- *How was the experience of the Japanese in Mexico impacted by the Japanese experience in the United States?*

The 19th Century

One of the largest problems confronting Mexico in the early 19th century was low population, especially in certain remote areas of the country. Thus, Mexico's first independent government introduced laws and decrees promoting immigration beginning in 1828. Toward the end of the 19th century, policies focusing on economic development and immigration under President Porfirio Díaz (president from 1877–80 and 1884–1911) aroused Japanese interests in Mexico. Already, the Chinese had migrated to Mexico and the Japanese followed shortly. In 1874, the head of the Mexican Astronomic Commission, Francisco Díaz Covarrubias, visited Japan to observe the movement of Venus. There, he wrote about his preferences for the Japanese laborers and their potential ability to assimilate in Mexican society: "The Japanese are almost always affable, courteous, valiant, ponderous, and docile to accept all genres of culture." Beyond this subjective analysis of Japanese character, Díaz Covarrubias's report explained the importance of establishing trade relations with Asia. A few years later, the November 1888 Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation between Japan and Mexico permitted the immigration of Japanese to Mexican national territory. Consequently, the first Japanese colony was settled in the zone of Soconusco, in Escuintla, Chiapas, in 1897. This colony was made up of 35 migrants, both "*colonos*" (contract laborers) and free immigrants, which formed the first stage of Japanese immigration to Mexico.

Early 20th Century

Later, during the period from 1900 to 1910, large numbers of Japanese contract workers arrived. These laborers worked in the construction of railroads, on the plantations, and in the mines. It is estimated that 10,000 Japanese arrived during this period, the vast majority of whom eventually crossed the border to the United States. Many of the Japanese immigrants during this period had legally emigrated to Mexico from South America and Cuba. It is difficult to assess the number of illegal Japanese immigrants because this phenomenon has not been addressed in government statistics, largely because most of the Japanese immigrants to Mexico had been initially rejected by U.S. immigration and decided to first enter Mexico illegally with the intention of later entering the United States. In a sense, Mexico served as a trampoline for such immigrants.

Scholars also argue that many Japanese who felt restrictive pressures in the United States entered Mexico illegally. This kind of migration covers the period from 1907 to 1924. The first date corresponds to the Gentleman's Agreement signed between the United States and Japan, in which the latter decided to voluntarily keep its subjects from migrating to the United States. The second date marks the year of a stronger anti-immigration law in the United States which specifically targeted Japanese and Chinese migrants. This closure of borders prompted illegal immigration to both the United States and Mexico.

Restrictions on immigration in Mexico developed around the same periods. In

handout #5

1903, a Mexican commission on the study of Asian immigration investigated whether Mexican national interests coincided with Chinese and Japanese migration. The commission decided against Chinese migration based on the opinion that Chinese lived in isolated groups and were inassimilable. The results of this commission culminated in the 1908 Immigration Law, which restricted immigration to those whose physical condition would enable them to engage in rigorous physical labor. Eventually, Mexico, influenced by the United States, promulgated a revised immigration law in 1926. This law complicated immigration procedures and requested that foreigners demonstrate strong physical and moral health as well as a certain degree of economic solvency.

Despite the hardships encountered by agricultural and industrial laborers, professional immigrants had many more opportunities in Mexico. The agreement signed between Mexico and Japan in 1917 for the free immigration of medical, pharmaceutical, dental, midwifery, and veterinary professionals was enforced until 1928. Under the protection of this agreement, the immigration of skilled labor emerged.

During this stage, Mexico received the generation of professionals who brought fame to the Japanese as odontologists. During the period from 1921 to 1940, the Japanese immigrants who migrated from the South to the North and could not cross the U.S.–Mexico border settled in the border region. This resulted in the emergence of commercial centers, including small general stores in Ciudad Juárez and Chihuahua; cotton plantations in Mexicali and Baja California; and fishing businesses in Ensenada, Baja California, and Tampico, Tamaulipas. Little by little, the Japanese gained economic and social stability, and hence facilitated the possibility of bringing their closest relatives to Mexico under the established legislation. Thus, another current of immigrants, *yobiyose* ("invited or summoned immigrants"), became part of the Japanese-Mexican community.

Post-War Period

Following World War II, from 1951 to 1978, the final group of Japanese immigrants arrived, consisting of highly skilled Japanese technicians employed by multinational corporations. This group of Japanese technicians differs from other Japanese immigrant groups because its members are not permanent residents of the Japanese-Mexican community like those who have remained in Mexico since the earlier part of the century. In total, the official number of Japanese who entered Mexico between 1890 and 1970 is 14,735.

Source: María Elena Ota Mishima, *Destino México* (México: El Colegio de México, 1997) and *Siete Migraciones Japonesas en México: 1890–1978* (México: El Colegio de México, 1982). Translated with permission of the author.

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JAPANESE-MEXICAN ART AND LITERATURE

The art and personal story on the next five pages represent the work of two Japanese Mexicans. The artist, Tomoyo Hiroishi, wrote the following about herself:

> As an artist, I could not have had better inspiration than to be raised in a bicultural environment. My father had already immigrated to Mexico when my mother arrived from across the Pacific Ocean—to achieve her long-time dream to witness and explore the mesmerizing ruins of the Mayas. Neither of them imagined that they would meet each other in a country so far away from their homeland and settle down in Mexico to establish a family. I was born in 1974, praised by the glorious rays of "El Sol" (the sun), which my eyes reflected in my curiosity and eagerness to learn about the land where I came from and the land where I was born. I am a component of two distinct cultures. Through art, I am able to transmit and express my discoveries and experiences of my two homes: Japan—the calm, spiritual golden island—and Mexico—the upbeat, exotic country of the sun.

The personal story, "One of Many," was written by Juan Ryusuke Ishikawa Tsukada, who is currently a graduate student in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at the University of California, Berkeley.

Group Task

Analyze the artwork by Tomoyo Hiroishi and discuss her interpretations of her art. Read Juan Ryusuke Ishikawa Tsukada's personal story, "One of Many," and draw a sketch or paint a picture of one of the events he describes. This can be done as a group or individually. Your art should reflect Juan's bicultural identity as a Japanese Mexican.

activity #5

JAPANESE-MEXICAN ART BY TOMOYO HIROISHI

"Self-portrait dressed as a Mexican," oil, color (24 inches by 35 inches)

This self-portrait of me dressed as a Mexican was created in 1994, when I had just arrived in the United States for college. This was the first time I was away from Mexico, the country where I was born. I was still questioning my roots, but most strongly, I longed to be a Mexican. Even though I was raised by Japanese parents and they had introduced me to one of the most beautiful cultures in the world, I still missed the scenery and the smells of the country I grew up in. Coming to the United States allowed me to realize how rich and colorful Mexican culture is. When I closed my eyes, I saw the mountains and the bright colors that illuminated the people. I was inspired by my memories of my home country and of my childhood. At that time, the reflection I saw in the mirror was of an Asian girl in a Mexican costume.

About the dress: I am wearing an off-white indigenous traditional dress I brought from home. The stripes in the center composed of different primary colors suggest a typical Mexican color palette: red, blue, yellow, and others. The red scarf that loosely hangs around my arms is worn by many Indian women as well. The usage varies: as a shawl, to decorate their hair, or to tie around their waist. I am holding a typical ceramic coffee cup, and a traditional cup and plate from Puebla are in the foreground.

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activity #5

"La búsquesdad de la identidad" (The search for identity), woodblock, black and white (26 inches by 26 inches)

This woodblock was created in April 1997, when I finally started feeling comfortable about my identity. The different masks on the shelf represent the two cultures I grew up in simultaneously: Japan and Mexico. My hands that are reaching for the shelf are a mere suggestion of the choice I would have to make. Am I after all Japanese or Mexican? But after seeking my identity for a while, I realized that I did not need to choose either after all. The long-time confusion was no longer negative but became a positive aspect of the intriguing and amazing elements of my two origins. I think I am going to let the masks stay where they are.

activity #5

ONE OF MANY BY JUAN RYUSUKE ISHIKAWA TSUKADA

I was born in Guadalajara, Mexico, on August 18, 1974. Because I was born on St. John's day, my parents decided to name me Juan Ryusuke Ishikawa. However, they have always called me by my second name and they still do. Both of my parents are Japanese. My father is from a small wine-producing village in the state of Yamanashi, and my mother is from the northern island of Hokkaido. Although they both speak Spanish with a Japanese accent, they have been able to integrate into Mexican life quite successfully. My father arrived when he was my age, some thirty plus years ago, upon the invitation from my uncle who had started a business buying and selling opals. He sometimes tells me how back then there were so few flights from the United States to Mexico that he had to take the bus all the way to get to Guadalajara. Although part of his message was an allusion to the easy life I have had, these are different times. When my father arrived in Guadalajara, Mexico had a strong rising economy which helped my uncle and my father in their adventure. However, much of their present success is derived from their years of constant effort and dedication.

My mother married my father some years later as a picture bride (arranged marriage). She crossed the Pacific to start a radically different life soon after I was conceived. I grew up in a house with my parents, my uncles, my sister, three cousins, three Mexicans who helped in the house, and a family of chihuahuas. At first, the transition to Mexican life was difficult for my mother, and she was constantly sick. Because there were five children running around the house, there was a Mexican lady, Chayo, who took care of us. I grew up listening to Japanese and Spanish. I remember that I once asked my mother what my first word (or what must have sounded like one) was and she told me that it was "agua" in Spanish. I guess I was thirsty, or had I been cautioning someone? ("Aguas" in colloquial Mexican Spanish means "be careful.")

I have a terrible memory; it is especially difficult for me to remember things that happened to me during my childhood. I guess that could mean that it was quite an ordinary one, at least that is the way it felt. The first school I entered was the Newton kindergarten. My parents strongly believed in the importance of a multilingual education from the beginning. But it was also convenient that the kindergarten was located just a block away from our house. We, the kids, would walk down the street to the kindergarten (with our lunch boxes and everything). Usually we made a slight detour at the corner of the street so that we could see "the lion lady," a woman with exploded blonde hair and mean looks.

In kindergarten, we learned the basic tools for survival: tying our shoes, brushing our teeth, counting up to ten in English, saying "thank you" every time someone did something for us, and dressing up as our favorite heroes for Halloween. When I look back at those wonder years, I realize that I lived in a pretty Americanized neighborhood since we did go trick-or-treating every 31st of October. Halloween was a special day for me as a kindergartner because I got to be a superhero: I was Robin, Superman, Peter Pan, and Captain America. For the other kids, however, I was a total disappointment: how could Superman or Robin be Asian?

Those fantasy days were over when I entered first grade at the American School of Guadalajara. With my bowl cut and my tiny shorts, I sat there with my cousin in a room full of Mexicans and Americans who had a hard time saying my name.

From the beginning, I was a master at juggling an infinite number of activities. I had to go to the American School in the morning, to the Japanese school in the afternoon (three days a week), go to piano lessons, play soccer, take swimming

classes, and do my homework for the next day. How I am constantly surprised at how time just slips away, and I am not sure how I managed to do so much as a child. The hardest part of all this was the infernal Chinese-character memorization weekends. My parents enrolled me in the "correspondence classes" offered by the Ministry of Education of Japan for the Japanese children living abroad. Every weekend I had to do all those painful memorization exercises of Chinese characters. My eyes filled with tears every time my neighborhood friends came to knock on my door, and my mother, like a wicked witch, would always say: "No, you have to learn your characters." While lying on my bed before going to sleep, I felt that I was the most miserable kid in the world.

My teenage years went by quickly and were filled with regrets. The list of extracurricular activities never shrank; newly incorporated were karate and English classes. As my busy days went by, this was the time when I first began to question my existence, especially in relation to my Japanese heritage. I would think, "If I were not Japanese I would not have had to go through all this work and would be able to enjoy more of my life with my friends." Of course, if I were not Japanese, I would never have existed. Somehow, though, I related my Japanese heritage to injustice. I could not go to parties with my friends, date a girl, or throw a party at my house because I had Japanese school, piano lessons, or another class. It was not important for me to have a schedule book because every day would have been marked off anyway.

I decided to attend high school in New York. Actually, it was a decision my parents had initially made and I agreed upon. I went to an all-Japanese boarding school in Westchester County. Confused and lost, I left home to another country and another lifestyle. It was hard to leave Mexico and I wrote a lot to my friends. The decision to leave Mexico was based upon the opportunities that would come to me if I attended this "privileged" high school. It was "privileged" in a negative sense because it turned out to be an expensive prison, but also "privileged" in a positive sense since I made some of my best friends there.

Because the school was all-Japanese, I had to speak Japanese all the time—much more than what I was used to. Fortunately, however, my close cousin also joined me in this venture so I could speak some Spanish. We were the "Mexican combination" because we were often together, most of the time arguing about the most ridiculous things. This was justifiable since we were thrown into a place in the middle of nowhere in which you had to ask permission from a supervisor every time you wanted to do something.

My major escape, apart from writing letters, reading existentialist books and playing soccer, was to go to the forbidden land: Manhattan. The students had to get special permission to cross the Brooklyn Bridge. As an authentic "rebel without a cause" and deeply influenced by Holden Caulfield of J.D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*, I frequently made my escape into that magical world. I felt free walking down the café-filled streets of the Village or stopping by the galleries in Soho. I was amazed by the paintings at the Met and the musicals of Broadway. For a simple Mexican-Japanese, this was a fantasy come true. In this city I first encountered diversity, at least in terms of language. I could hear Spanish coming from the left, English from the right and Japanese from behind. All these people were living in a single space surrounded by water, shadowed by high-rises, tinted with multiple races, looked upon by the French mother of the United States. Until then, I considered myself as part of the mainstream community; in Mexico I was a Mexican, and with my Japanese friends I was one of them. But on the streets and subways of New York City, I realized that I was in a unique position. Unfortunately, I was also never fully a part of one culture or people. In addition, I was a teenager, which added to my general sense of confusion, much of which was self-imposed.

Like a "rebel without a cause" or simply recognizing the better education I

would get in the United States, I decided to apply to colleges in the United States. Fortunately, I was accepted at Swarthmore College. Defying my 117 friends who were leaving for the university life of Japan, I stayed in the United States.

College life was a time of big changes. It was the first time I was fully entered into the "American culture" or at least the Swarthmore version of it. I was to begin the saga of the non-resident alien. When filling out the ethnic background box, I remember putting an "x" by "Other" and then specifying, "Mexican/Japanese." I had built my own category and I had to deal with it. I have to admit that the first years of college, and college in general, were lonely years. Yes, I had too much to read and too many papers to write, but I was also in a state of limbo. I had to first understand how things worked in the American college scene. It was a difficult task of finding some common points with other people: listening to jokes, entering the gossip circuits, watching sitcoms, and speaking English without my Mexican accent. This was important because most of the conversations I had began: Hi, how are you? What is your name? Hi, my name is Ryusuke. Oh . . . and ended with: Where are you from? Mexico. That's interesting.

Many foreign students would join the different ethnic or regional clubs, which provided them with a space to form familiar connections. I did not. Which group was I to join? My days went by reading novels by Latin American authors. Although I now regret not reading Japanese novels, I had a phobia of Chinese characters. At the same time, I was beginning to build my personal canon. A strong urge to be someone, to be part of something, boiled inside me. By reading Octavio Paz, Carlos Fuentes, Juan Rulfo, and all the other Mexican authors, I began to construct a "reading-based identity." Because I had read what the canonical Mexican authors had written, I was becoming a Mexican. I also started to feel proud of this part of my heritage which, in those days, was a necessity because in many of my politics and economics classes, Mexico was described as the bad example for everything. All this, however, was only a phase: my life as a cocoon.

As time accelerated, things started to settle down. Questions dealing with identity began to transform into something more fluid, more amorphous. I said to myself, "What is wrong with having two cultures?" After all, claiming my Mexican heritage would not take away my black hair, my almond-shaped eyes, or my Japanese ancestry. Similarly, trying to insist on the fact that my name was "Juan" to make it easy on the people I met, would not change the fact that most of my friends and all my family call me "Ryusuke." I started to find out that I was really not the only one carrying this confusion. Historically, some 150 years ago, there were Chinese in Cuba; some 100 years ago some Japanese had landed in the Brazilian ports. I was just one in the tradition of many who had crossed the Pacific Ocean, not to mention the thousands of people who came in touch with these newcomers from the "Far East," or is it the "Far West"?

Finally, I am here in the Bay Area working on my master's in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at Berkeley. I am in the process of collecting the literary treasures which writers of Asian descent in Latin America have left or are still constructing. Hopefully someday, the literary map of Latin America will include other histories, other cultures, and other colors.

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JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO ARGENTINA

As you read the handout, keep the following questions in mind.

- *What categories of migration are represented?*
- *How did the Japanese experience in Argentina impact Japan–Argentina relations?*
- *How was the experience of the Okinawans in Argentina different from that of other Japanese?*

Late 19th Century

The first Japanese immigrant to Argentina was a sailor named Makino Kinzo, who became known among locals as Miguel King. Makino arrived in Buenos Aires in 1886 and later worked on the railroads of central Argentina where he met and married an Argentine woman, Amalia Rodríguez. Although Makino's arrival did not stimulate a mass migration of Japanese to Argentina, relations between Japan and Argentina became stronger in the decades following his arrival. In 1898, Japan and Argentina signed the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation, which established formal diplomatic relations between the two nations, assured the protection of the rights of Japanese citizens in Argentina, and encouraged the development of bilateral trade. While the treaty did not mention immigration, it laid the foundation for future Japanese migrations to Argentina.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, Argentina established itself as the most popular destination for immigrants in Latin America. Immigrants from throughout Europe journeyed to Argentina pursuing new opportunities in the country's growing cities, especially Buenos Aires, the burgeoning "Paris of Latin America."

Early 20th Century

Like European immigrants, the Japanese primarily settled in Buenos Aires. The first Japanese immigrants, mainly students and businessmen representing Japanese firms, began to arrive in Buenos Aires around 1900. In 1906, there were approximately fifteen Japanese in Buenos Aires. This number increased in 1908–09 when Japanese from neighboring Latin American countries initiated a remigration movement. Many of these emigrants included individuals who had previously immigrated to Brazil as contract laborers on coffee plantations. These immigrants had traveled to Brazil on board the steamship *Kasato Maru*, and thus became known in Argentina as the *Kasato Maru gumi* (the *Kasato Maru* group). Because they met ill fate or unfair treatment on the coffee plantations in Brazil, these Japanese settlers escaped from the plantations and remigrated to Argentina seeking better work conditions.

Accompanying the influx of Japanese remigrants in Argentina, *yobiyose* (meaning "invited or summoned migrants") began to arrive from Kagoshima, Okinawa, and Kumamoto prefectures in 1910. As a result, the number of Japanese immigrating to Argentina began to increase slowly but steadily. Although other Latin American countries, especially Peru and Brazil, saw much higher numbers of Japanese immigrants, Argentina also welcomed the flow of Japanese migrant workers. This movement depended primarily on the regional labor market in Argentina as well as family ties between Japanese in Argentina and their "summoned" relatives from Okinawa and southern Japan. By 1920, Argentina's economic development as well as the decreased flow of European immigrants had contributed to the growth of Japanese immigration. In 1920, the number of Japanese immigrants had reached 2,027. This increased to 4,027 persons in 1930 and 7,027 persons by the outbreak of World War II.

As the Japanese population in Argentina grew, so did its ability to

mobilize support for new Japanese immigrants. By 1920, the Japanese had established numerous bars, restaurants, and dry cleaning shops which employed recent immigrants. Dry cleaning shops were an especially visible means by which the Japanese gained economic independence. Initially, an individual would establish a dry cleaning business, gain clientele, and then sell the business to a fellow Japanese. To engage in such business practices, groups of immigrants organized rotating credit through which individuals could borrow money from the group if they, in turn, would lend money to other group members in the future. Through this system, a large number of Japanese immigrants earned enough to return to Japan with large savings while those who remained in the country attained financial stability.

World War II

During World War II, Japanese migration to Argentina temporarily ceased. However, the Japanese in Argentina did not face the same level of discrimination as those living in the United States, Peru, or Brazil. Rather, because Argentina sympathized with the Axis powers and did not declare war on Japan until March 1945, the Argentine government and popular media presented a neutral image of the Japanese. Moreover, since the Japanese community in Argentina was quite small, it was not considered a "threat" to national security. On the other hand, following Argentina's war declaration, all Japanese and Germans had to register as "citizens of the enemy state," and Japanese educational institutions and newspapers were forced to close until the end of the war.

The Post-War Period

In 1945, President Juan Perón rose to power and initiated a favorable policy toward immigration and relations with Japan. Thus, even before the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan and Argentina had reestablished amicable relations. Before long, Argentina began to receive new Japanese immigrants, primarily from U.S.-occupied Okinawa. Like the original Japanese immigrants in Argentina, most new Japanese immigrants came on their own rather than in large groups. This migration continued until the mid-1960s and early 1970s when Japan's economy began to develop rapidly and domestic employment opportunities increased. Today, Argentina is home to the third-largest Japanese community in Latin America, behind Brazil and Peru. According to a 1986 census, the number of persons of Japanese origin in Argentina is approximately 50,000.

Source: "Desarrollo Histórico de la Inmigración Japonesa en la Argentina hasta la Segunda Guerra Mundial," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, Año 10, No. 30, 1995, pp. 471–512. Translated with permission from Marcelo Higa.

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Group Task

Statistics is a useful tool for explaining or predicting cultural, economic, and political trends. In migration studies, statistics can help us to visualize population movements and make inferences about these demographic changes. In this activity, you will use statistics to answer questions about occupational changes within the Japanese population of Argentina, as well as general population shifts for the Japanese in Latin America. After answering the following questions, make a presentation to the class about your group's response to any two of the questions. In your presentation, include additional responses to the following questions: What questions were the most difficult to answer and why? What kind of additional information is necessary to develop more valid responses to the questions? What are the advantages and disadvantages of using statistics in social research?

activity #6

Refer to the chart "Principal Occupations of Japanese Settlers in Argentina."

1. Draw a line graph depicting the percentage of the Japanese population in Argentina employed as agricultural workers or agricultural/flower growers/gardeners by year.

2. On the same graph, draw the curve representing the percentage of Japanese employed as industrial laborers by year.

3. What might have caused the shift in the concentration of labor from industry to agriculture? What factors contribute to changes in the labor focus? Consider the demands of the Argentine labor market as well as the skills of immigrants themselves.

4. From 1914 to 1936, the percentage of self-employed Japanese (owners of dry cleaning shops, bar or restaurant owners, etc.) increased significantly. What factors might have contributed to this trend? How might the immigration experience be similar in the United States? Why?

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activity #6

Refer to the chart "Departures from Japan to Latin America."

1. In 1903, what percentage of the total Japanese departures resulted in immigration to Argentina? What percentage of Japanese departures for Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, and Peru resulted in immigration to Argentina in the same year? Why do you think these percentages are so low?

2. In 1934, what percentage of all Japanese departures resulted in immigration to Brazil? To Peru? To Argentina? To Mexico? Compare these percentages. What are some of the possible reasons for large-scale Japanese migration to Brazil? List some of the factors that might influence an individual's decision to migrate to a specific country.

3. According to the handout "Japanese Immigration to Argentina," there were 2,027 Japanese immigrants in Argentina in 1920. Compare this number with the cumulative total of Japanese departures to Argentina through the year 1920, which can be calculated from the "Departures from Japan to Latin America" chart. Are the totals the same? What accounts for the discrepancy between the total number of departures to Argentina and the actual number of Japanese immigrants in Argentina? Refer to the article for more information.

4. How many Japanese citizens departed Japan in 1934? In 1935? In 1936? What factors might have caused this drop in total departures? Consider world events, and, in particular, Japan's needs during the prewar period. How could policy toward overseas migration have been influenced by Japan's prewar mobilization efforts? How would Japanese expansion into Asia affect the perception of Japanese immigrants in Latin America or the United States and Canada?

activity #6

PRINCIPAL OCCUPATIONS OF JAPANESE SETTLERS IN ARGENTINA

(percentage of working population)

1914	1920	1922	1928	1930	1933	1935	1936
Industrial Labor 339 persons, 49.6%	*Industrial Labor* 642 persons, 44.2%	*Industrial Labor* 511 persons, 32.9%	*Bar or Restaurant Owners* 555 persons, 24.1%	*Dry Cleaners* 371 persons, 14.6%	*Agricultural Workers* 776 persons, 23.1%	*Agricultural Workers* 780 persons, 22.7%	*Agricultural Workers* 830 persons, 23.4%
Domestic Servants 162 persons, 23.7%	*Domestic Servants* 238 persons, 16.4%	*Domestic Servants* 321 persons, 20.6%	*Industrial Labor* 433 persons, 18.8%	*Porters/ Bellboys* 321 persons, 12.6%	*Dry Cleaners* 739 persons, 22.0%	*Dry Cleaners* 766 persons, 22.3%	*Dry Cleaners* 812 persons, 22.9%
Commerce 39 persons, 5.7%	*Agricultural Workers* 186 persons, 12.6%	*Bar or Restaurant Owners* 168 persons, 10.8%	*Agricultural Workers* 346 persons, 15.0%	*Agricultural Workers* 318 persons, 12.5%	*Bar or Restaurant Owners* 709 persons, 21.1%	*Bar or Restaurant Owners* 693 persons, 20.2%	*Bar or Restaurant Owners* 684 persons, 19.3%
Agricultural Workers 29 persons, 4.2%	*Commerce* 131 persons, 9.0%	*Agricultural Workers* 138 persons, 8.8%	*Dry Cleaners* 234 persons, 10.1%	*Agricultural Proprietors* 238 persons, 9.3%	*Industrial Labor* 340 persons, 10.1%	*Industrial Labor* 333 persons, 9.7%	*Industrial Labor* 334 persons, 9.4%
Cooks 26 persons, 3.8%	*Sales of Food and Drinks* 57 persons, 3.9%	*Commerce* 76 persons, 4.8%	*Agriculture and Flower Growers* 162 persons, 7.0%	*Bar Owners* 143 persons, 5.6%	*Domestic Servants* 135 persons, 4.0%	*Agriculture and Flower Growers* 258 persons, 7.5%	*Agriculture and Flower Growers* 250 persons, 7.0%
Gardeners 26 persons, 3.8%	*Misc. Labor* 23 persons, 1.5%	*Gardeners and Flower Growers* 68 persons, 4.3%	*Domestic Servants* 134 persons, 5.8%	*Chauffeurs* 123 persons, 4.8%	*Chauffeurs* 108 persons, 3.2%	*Domestic Servants* 134 persons, 3.9%	*Domestic Servants* 132 persons, 3.7%
			Chauffeurs 123 persons, 5.3%				

Source: Marcelo Higa, "Desarrollo Histórico de la Inmigración Japonesa en la Argentina hasta la Segunda Guerra Mundial," *Estudios Migratorios Latinoamericanos*, Año 10, No. 30, 1995.

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DEPARTURES FROM JAPAN TO LATIN AMERICA

Year	Argentina	Mexico	Brazil	Peru	Total: World
1903	126	281	0	1,303	14,055
1904	0	1,261	0	0	14,663
1905	0	346	0	0	13,302
1906	0	5,068	0	1,257	36,124
1907	1	3,822	0	85	25,060
1908	0	0	799	2,880	10,447
1909	1	2	4	1,138	4,278
1910	2	5	911	483	6,951
1911	2	28	0	456	8,071
1912	16	16	2,859	714	14,912
1913	103	47	6,947	1,126	20,966
1914	41	35	3,526	1,132	17,974
1915	33	19	39	1,348	12,543
1916	135	22	35	1,429	14,586
1917	127	53	3,883	1,948	22,862
1918	134	128	5,956	1,736	23,574
1919	174	64	2,732	1,507	18,244
1920	42	53	970	836	13,541
1921	53	69	970	717	12,944
1922	52	77	986	202	12,879
1923	66	68	796	333	8,825
1924	58	76	3,689	651	13,098
1925	121	160	4,908	922	10,696
1926	182	336	8,599	1,250	16,184
1927	262	319	9,625	1,271	18,041
1928	387	353	12,002	1,410	19,850
1929	430	249	15,597	1,585	25,704
1930	489	434	13,741	813	21,828
1931	362	283	5,565	299	10,384
1932	239	149	15,108	369	19,028
1933	135	85	23,299	480	27,317
1934	112	80	22,960	473	28,087
1935	201	53	5,745	814	10,813
1936	349	62	5,357	593	11,119
1937	307	65	4,675	166	10,744

Source: Japanese Foreign Ministry statistics.

activity #6

LOCATION OF OKINAWA IN NORTHEAST ASIA

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handout #7

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO BOLIVIA

As you read the handout, keep the following questions in mind.

- *What categories of migration are represented?*
- *How did the Japanese experience in Bolivia impact Japan–Bolivia relations?*
- *How was the experience of the Japanese in Bolivia impacted by the United States?*

First Japanese Immigrants to Bolivia

Compared to their counterparts in Peru, Brazil, and Argentina, the number of Japanese immigrants in Bolivia is small. While nearly a quarter million Japanese (including Okinawans) had immigrated to Latin America before the Pacific War began in 1941, less than one percent of them went to Bolivia. This number does not include the Japanese who entered Bolivia via Peru. It is known that ninety-one Japanese men who had originally immigrated to Peru to work in the sugarcane fields crossed the border into Bolivia in 1899 and arrived in the Amazon region as rubber-tappers. They were followed by many more, who also worked as rubber-tappers and as carpenters, boat operators, and other skilled laborers. Some ran shops to cater to the growing population in the region stimulated by the rubber boom. Though their exact number is not clear, they left their footprints in such place names as Japón, Tokio, Yokohama, Mukden, and Puerto Arturo in the northernmost tropics of Pando.

As the natural rubber industry in the Amazon region declined after World War I, some Japanese immigrants left the area for cities in other regions, such as La Paz, Oruro, Cochabamba, and Santa Cruz, or remigrated to Brazil. The majority, however, remained in the region as merchants or independent farmers and married local Bolivian women, thus blending into local communities. Isolated in the most remote region of Bolivia and with neither official ties with the Japanese government nor contact with the outside world, these Japanese and their descendants did not form a distinct "Japanese immigrant community." Their "Japaneseness" disappeared within one generation. Only a few traces, such as Japanese surnames, were left in the community. It is estimated that as of 1997 their descendants are about 1,000 in Cobija, the Department of Pando, and 7,000 in Riberalta, 1,300 in Trinidad, and 500 in Rurrenabaque, all in the Department of Beni. The number of the descendants of those who moved out of the northeastern region to Oruro and Cochabamba is about 200. The number in La Paz includes later arrivals and is 800, as of early 1997.

Most descendants of Japanese immigrants in Pando of the Amazon region are racially a quarter Japanese and culturally Bolivian. They have little contact with other Japanese communities in Bolivia. Likewise, they had no contact with Japan, until the acute labor shortage during Japan's bubble economy in the later 1980s gave their Japanese surnames economic value by granting them a special status to work in Japan. A number of them took advantage of this status and went to Japan to earn money.

Postwar Immigration to Bolivia

There are two Japanese immigrant communities in the Department of Santa Cruz that were established after World War II. One is Colonia Okinawa, located in the northeast of Santa Cruz, consisting of immigrants from Japan's southernmost islands of Okinawa, and the other is Colonia San Juan Yapacaní, located northwest of the city of Santa Cruz, consisting of immigrants from all over Japan. The immigration to both Colonias began separately in the mid-1950s when

handout #7

Okinawa was still under American occupation. The immigration of Okinawans was organized by the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI) and encouraged by the United States Civil Administration in Ryukyu Islands (USCAR) in the early 1950s. The GRI pushed the overseas emigration in order to alleviate population pressure, high unemployment, land shortages, and increasing social discontent. The USCAR sponsored Okinawan emigration to reduce the social tension caused by land appropriation by the American military for the purpose of constructing military bases. At the same time, the United States wanted to make Bolivia self-sufficient in terms of food supply and pressured the new Bolivian government to accept Okinawan immigrants. Financially dependent on the United States, Bolivia had no alternative but to follow the United States' intention. Thus, the thread connecting Okinawa and Bolivia was strung by the United States at the height of the Cold War.

The immigration program was hastily organized, and immigrants were recruited. Lured by the promise of fifty hectares of free land, about four thousand people applied for emigration to Bolivia, out of whom four hundred were selected and arrived in the first settlement site west of Santa Cruz in 1954. Almost immediately a strange illness, later named the Uruma Disease, struck the settlement, affecting half the immigrants in one form or another, and killing fifteen of them. Within a year the entire colony moved to another site, and then to another. Finally, they settled in the current site of Colonia Okinawa in October 1956 and started over. It was only another beginning of their hardships.

Another immigration program was arranged by the Japanese government a few years later, parallel to the Okinawa immigration. The Japanese immigration to Bolivia was first organized by an industrialist named Nishikawa who envisioned a sugarcane factory in the Santa Cruz region. He brought eighty-eight Japanese men, women, and children into San Juan Yapacaní in July 1955, but soon the colonization plan fell apart and the immigrants were left in the jungle. The Japanese government took over and recruited immigrants from all over Japan. In 1957 the first government-sponsored immigrant group arrived in San Juan. Though they had no major outbreaks of disease, the Japanese immigrants in San Juan had just as much hardship as the Okinawans did, with no roads, no decent housing, no hospitals, no schools.

With the sponsorship by the different governments, a disparity in overall aid grew between Colonia Okinawa and San Juan Yapacaní. Colonia Okinawa with its Okinawan immigrants initially received bulldozers and other heavy machinery from the United States, but the U.S. aid was short-lived and provided no technical aid. San Juan with its immigrants from all over Japan, on the other hand, had no big machinery, but as the Japanese government's aid increased in quantity and quality, their condition improved, which widened the gap between Colonia and San Juan. As a result, Colonia Okinawa was placed under the Japanese government's protection in 1967, five years before the reversion of their homeland of Okinawa to Japan took place.

Meanwhile, both communities battled a series of disasters (crop failure, drought, flood, and their remote location). The majority of the immigrants left the Colonias and moved to towns, returned to Japan, or remigrated to other Latin American countries. As of April 1, 1997, there were about 770 immigrants and their offspring in Colonia San Juan, and about 850 in Colonia Okinawa. The city of Santa Cruz and its vicinity have about one thousand Japanese and Okinawan immigrants and their descendants. Ironically, the exodus of immigrants out of the Colonias helped those who remained to expand their farmland which was needed for mechanized farming. They grow rice, citrus, and macadamia, and raise chickens for eggs in San Juan. In Colonia Okinawa, since it is drier than in San Juan, they grow mostly soybeans, wheat, sorghum, and sunflowers for oil, and raise cattle. With the world demand for soybeans soaring, Colonia Okinawa now finds itself part of the world market. There is no longer a gap between the two communities—the

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Okinawans and the mainland Japanese—in terms of the amount and the quality of Japanese government aid. Still far from being self-sufficient, the Japanese-Bolivian Association in San Juan stated in 1984 in their petition to various branches of the Japanese government that they need financial and technical aid from Japan because it would be impossible to arrange and maintain the infrastructure and superstructure (such as roads, education, health care, social order, and economic development) in Bolivia by immigrants alone under Bolivian policy. This basic premise has not changed, though the degree of needs might have declined in the 1990s.

At the same time, the Department and the City of Santa Cruz, Bolivia, are also very dependent on Japanese aid. With their well-publicized aid, as well as the world reputation of Japanese economic power, and with their own success in agriculture (albeit with the Japanese government's aid), Okinawans and Japanese enjoy prestige. Both Colonias attract a flow of internal migrants as well as the attention of schemers who wait for opportunities to snatch away the fruit of their labor.

Source: Excerpted from Kozy Amemiya "Land, Culture, and the Power of Money: Assimilation and Resistance of Okinawan Immigrants in Bolivia," unpublished manuscript. Reprinted with permission of the author.

Group Task

The autobiographical sketches on the next few pages were provided by Dr. Kozy Amemiya, Japan Policy Research Institute, University of California, San Diego. The sketches focus on the immigration experiences of two Japanese. Read through these sketches keeping the historical context of Japanese immigration to Bolivia in mind. Choose one of the following tasks:

- Imagine you are the editor of a small Japanese-Bolivian newspaper. Your assignment is to write a speech to be delivered at the 60th anniversary celebration of the arrival of the first Japanese immigrants to Bolivia. Consider some of the following questions as you write your speech: What was life like for post–World War II Okinawan immigrants in Bolivia? What were some of the challenges they faced? How did they cope with these issues?

- Imagine you are in Bolivia as a visiting reporter from NHK television in Japan. Your assignment is to produce a documentary about the lives of early Japanese immigrants in Bolivia. Write a plan describing each of the scenes you will include in the video and explain why you have chosen them.

activity #7

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The following autobiographical sketch was collected by the Okinawan Bolivian Colony for the 1975 commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Okinawan migration to Bolivia. As you read the sketch, consider the following questions: Who is writing the story and why? Why do you think the author chose to write about this topic?

My Migration History

by Yoshiko Toma

About twenty-five years ago my husband, who had been working at city hall, came home and told me about groups of Okinawans migrating to Bolivia. To say the least, I wasn't completely convinced that moving to Bolivia was such a great plan, but my husband was so delighted by the possibilities in South America that he went ahead with the preparations to migrate. In the blink of an eye, we left our mother country for a new life across the Pacific.

The day our ship left Japan, it was so hot outside you could almost feel yourself burning. Nevertheless, my husband was cheerful and excited. I, on the other hand, fretted over our three children, who were hot from the sun, as my worries about the future brought on a sinking feeling in my heart.

We were the second group of Japanese immigrants in our part of the country. After our long journey from Japan passed without any major troubles, we finally arrived in Bolivia early one evening. The sun had already set, so the original group of immigrants who had come one month before us came to greet our group with lanterns to guide us to our new homes. I recall asking them about our accommodations and found that our dwelling would be a simple hut with no internal walls and no ceiling. My first job was to gather some sticks and straw outside to make beds for the children and to put them to sleep. Just as I had finally breathed a sigh of relief, we were attacked by an invading army of mosquitoes. While I chased the mosquitoes away, I thought to myself, "I've really come to a faraway country and for what reason?" That night, I made an effort to fall asleep and allow my tired body to relax, but I never dozed off. The hum of the mosquitoes wasn't the only thing keeping me awake . . .

From the next day onward, I had to help the other women with communal cooking. The hardest thing about this was obtaining clean drinking water and vegetables. I was especially worried about the shortage of vegetables and fruits since my children were young and needed nutrients. Papayas were an especially valuable source of the vitamins my children needed, so I used to write little memos in Spanish to facilitate communication, and then walk the long distance to the nearest Bolivian village just to buy one of these fruits.

Since I was unfamiliar with the local region and culture, I simply copied the actions of the people around me when shopping in the market. One time after a rain shower, as I was walking home from the market along a mountain path while carrying a bunch of heavy bananas, I heard the roar of a mountain lion, and ran home as quickly as I could. When I finally caught my breath, I realized that I was still clutching those important bananas. At this point, I noticed that when things are really tough, mothers have a strange way of finding the strength they need to get through. Later, though, I had to laugh at myself when I discovered that what I thought had been a mountain lion was just the voice of a frog.

There weren't any "home-like" homes in our little village. Our lifestyle was truly primitive, yet we all believed that education was important for our children so we built a kindergarten. I was one of the people responsible for educating the

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children, and as I became more involved in teaching them and helping them with fun activities, I felt my life becoming more fulfilled. It was just around this time, though, that "*uruma*-disease" affected our village. With each victim that passed away, I couldn't help but think, "Would I be the next?" Those were days when I felt there was no choice but to leave my fate in the hands of heaven. As a wife and mother, I knew I needed to use all of my strength to protect my family and prayed every day that I would be able to continue to give them all I could. Even now, I think that everyone here keeps the fears we held at this time somewhere in the back of our hearts. Every August we hold a celebration in honor of those who died from *uruma*-disease and I make a point to attend each year.

To avoid living in a place with so much sickness, we decided to move to a new location. On the way to Montero, our new home, I gave birth to a baby girl. As we were moving, a cold Southern wind caused an immense rainstorm and we were unable to cross the river towards our destination. We were forced to spend several days in a hut alongside the Rio Grande, so I felt both physically and emotionally exhausted. This caused me to stop producing milk so I could no longer feed our baby and I cried along with my hungry little girl. I think the thing that pulled me through these few days was the pain of knowing that crying wouldn't alleviate the situation and that there was really nowhere to turn to for help. When we got to Montero, we borrowed a room and spread our cold, soaking blankets out to sleep. It was an absolutely horrible journey, but perhaps God was protecting my daughter somehow because she never became sick. Our baby at the time is now a healthy young woman working as a nurse.

"Mom—you're so brave, having all of us kids in that primitive village," my daughter recently told me.

I think that the children were my life support. It was only because of them that I was able to persevere and make a new life for my family in Bolivia.

Discuss the following:

1. Historical sources can be divided into two basic categories: primary and secondary. Primary sources are firsthand accounts of events as experienced by the author, and include materials such as autobiographies, letters, paintings, interviews, and diaries. Secondary sources are interpretations, discussions, and summaries based on primary sources, and include materials such as textbooks and biographies. How would you classify the piece you just read? Why?

2. Are primary sources such as the above autobiographical sketch valuable as historical texts? Why or why not? What can we learn from these sources? What questions should we consider as we read primary source materials and secondary source materials?

activity #7

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

The following autobiographical sketch was collected by the Okinawan Bolivian Colony for the 1975 commemoration of the 25th anniversary of Okinawan migration to Bolivia. As you read the sketch, consider the following questions: Who is writing the story and why? Why do you think the author chose to write about this topic?

The Mosquitoes of Bolivia

By Seitoku Toyama

Bolivian summers are hot—yet, unlike everyone in Japan, Bolivians wear one or two extra layers of clothing. Above these layers, they add an extra jacket. At first I thought these people lacked common sense, but before long I learned that you cannot survive a Bolivian summer without thick clothing because you have to protect your body from the hordes of hungry mosquitoes.

When summer comes around, Bolivians start carrying tree branches whenever they walk outside. If you don't chase the mosquitoes away with a tree branch, they will eat every inch of your body. Without a tree branch, tens of thousands of mosquitoes will fly in and attack from all sides so that you can no longer stand up. They'll even bite through two layers of clothing, so you cannot get by without an extra jacket.

In order to keep the mosquitoes out of the house, we had to use smoke. Especially when we had guests visiting, the anti-mosquito smoke provided a warm, albeit rather weird reception. Sometimes the smoke was so intense when friends were visiting that we had to simply enjoy our conversations through the tears brought on by the smoke. It was truly a strange way to receive guests. Whenever I saw that smoke I recalled the old Okinawan folk ballad called "White Smoke." This tune is about a man seeing a friend off who is headed for the mainland. In the song, the man climbs to the top of a high point overlooking the sea and starts a small fire so that his friend can see the white smoke rising as he departs.

When I began living in the Japanese colony in Bolivia, I learned for the first time that mosquitoes are small, but huge pests. The mosquitoes in the primitive forest in which we lived were so aggressive they would form great black swarms and attack us in squadrons. I have no idea which direction they came gushing out at us from, but I have a feeling that all the mosquitoes on the planet must have gathered there in Bolivia.

Bolivian mosquitoes aren't as noisy as Japanese mosquitoes, but they do come in three sizes, small, medium, and large, and they have diverse, red, yellow, and black colorings as well. The biggest ones are about three times the size of Japanese mosquitoes. These are more plentiful during the day than at night, so they caused a lot of worry for us as we cleared the forest.

The most troublesome thing, though, was using the toilet. In the toilet, if you don't take off the clothes you have to remove, you're not going to accomplish what you need to get done! It's a little bit of an exaggeration, but whenever I entered the toilet I did so with the dramatic sense that I was risking my life. Since I had to constantly fight with the mosquitoes as I used the toilet, it was hard not to make a mess since I was concentrating so much on combating the merciless insects. Of course, no matter how much I tried to avoid being bitten as I cleaned up, I never managed to avoid being bitten on the behind. After being bitten by one of these mosquitoes, the affected area itches like crazy for about half an hour. I can only imagine how comical I must have looked as I spoke to people while relentlessly scratching my rear end.

Despite all the problems we had with mosquitoes, we managed to clear the forest

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and now only a few mosquitoes remain. The mosquitoes were a part of our experience in the primitive forest and now we can spend the summers in lighter, more comfortable clothing. When I tell the story of these mosquitoes to the second generation children who are now in elementary and middle school, I don't think they believe it's true.

I wonder how many of the people in the Japanese colony twenty-five years ago ever imagined that this primitive forest would become such a nice place to live and farm. Without giving in to the mosquitoes and all of the other bad things that came our way, I think we've all accomplished a great deal since arriving in Bolivia.

Discuss the following:

1. Historical sources can be divided into two basic categories: primary and secondary. Primary sources are firsthand accounts of events as experienced by the author, and include materials such as autobiographies, letters, paintings, interviews, and diaries. Secondary sources are interpretations, discussions, and summaries based on primary sources, and include materials such as textbooks and biographies. How would you classify the piece you just read? Why?

2. Are primary sources such as the above autobiographical sketch valuable as historical texts? Why or why not? What can we learn from these sources? What questions should we consider as we read primary source materials and secondary source materials?

handout #8

JAPANESE IMMIGRATION TO PARAGUAY

As you read the handout, keep the following questions in mind.

- *What categories of migration are represented?*
- *How did the Japanese experience in Paraguay impact Japan–Paraguay relations?*
- *How was the experience of the Japanese in Paraguay impacted by Japan?*

From 1903–1941

Paraguay, following the precedent of the United States, approved an immigration law in 1903 that prohibited the immigration of Asians. Although Paraguay ceased its ban on Asian immigration in 1924, organized Japanese immigration to Paraguay did not begin for another decade. The first group of Japanese immigrants arrived in 1936 and established an agricultural "colony" called La Colmena in an area about eighty miles southeast of Asunción, Paraguay's capital city. A primary reason for Japanese immigration to Paraguay was Brazil's strict immigration policy. Although the Japanese had immigrated freely to Brazil from 1908 to 1934, it became increasingly difficult to enter Brazil after it established an immigrant quota system in 1934 which specifically targeted Asian immigrants. During the period between 1936 and 1941, approximately 136 Japanese families immigrated to Paraguay and dedicated themselves to agricultural work on the colony, which was sponsored by the Japanese and Paraguayan governments as well as private Japanese emigration companies.

Most of the original Japanese settlers in Paraguay were recruited from northern and central regions of Japan, while the remainder were recruited from Brazilian plantations. Since most of the immigrants had come directly from Japan and had almost no experience living and farming in the tropics, the Japanese who had previously been farming in Brazil played a vital role in educating the new immigrants about agricultural methods in the unfamiliar terrain.

Life in the first Japanese colony in Paraguay was very challenging. Although La Colmena was located near the capital, Paraguay lacked an efficient transportation system, which made travel difficult. The nearest train station to La Colmena was more than twelve miles away and could be accessed only by foot, horse, or carriage. Moreover, since the colony was so geographically isolated from Paraguayan cities and towns, it remained rather closed to outside influence. For this reason, most of the Japanese living in the colony found it easy to maintain their own language and culture.

With the passing years, the first colony began to grow. As a result, the colonization company which had established La Colmena constructed a Japanese school, a hospital, a house for the colony's director, a rice and wheat mill, a Japanese culture center, and a baseball diamond. With time, the colony evolved into a mixed community of Japanese and Paraguayans.

Nevertheless, the colony remained isolated from Paraguay's cities and few Japanese assimilated into Paraguayan society. When war broke out between the United States and Japan in 1941, the majority of the Japanese immigrants in Paraguay returned to Japan. Those who remained in the colony had to cope with an unstable administration and countless inconveniences including a locust invasion in 1948 that destroyed all of the colony's crops. During these years, many of the Japanese immigrants in La Colmena remigrated to Brazil or Argentina.

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Japanese Emigration During the 1950

The second period of Japanese immigration to Paraguay began in 1954. In 1952, following World War II, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Japanese Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry began to seek possible immigration locations for the Japanese. In 1954, the Emigration Corporation of Japan was established to encourage the emigration of Japanese citizens and to provide the necessary services for these immigrants. The company constructed roads and bridges, facilitated the organization of several additional colonies, and purchased land that was later sold to Japanese settlers.

The final significant period of Japanese immigration to Paraguay began in 1955, when another group of families came from Japan to Paraguay. The driving factor for their emigration stemmed from the economic difficulties they had been suffering in Japan. Others were forced to leave the lands previously occupied by the Japanese army such as Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asian countries. As the numbers of Japanese immigrants increased, the Japanese community in Paraguay developed new services for the recent immigrants such as a hotel and Japanese restaurants in Asunción. However, the services available were insufficient for the rapid influx of Japanese immigrants.

Since the 1950s, the Japanese in Paraguay have successfully established many more agricultural colonies including Federico Chávez (1955), Fram, and Juan Caballero (1956). In 1959, Japan and Paraguay signed a migration agreement allowing a quota of 85,000 Japanese immigrants to Paraguay over a period of thirty years. As the Japanese agricultural colonies grew, they established strong reputations as leaders in soybean and vegetable production.

The Present

Currently, many Japanese and their descendants have moved away from the agricultural sector and into urban areas. Approximately 70 percent of the population of Japanese and their descendants in Paraguay are second generation (*nisei*). Although the Japanese community in Paraguay is much smaller than that of Peru, Brazil, or the United States, it maintains a vigorous sense of unity and strong relations with Japanese government-sponsored development agencies.

Source: Emi Kasamatsu, *La Presencia Japonesa en el Paraguay* (Asuncion: Biblioteca de Estudios Paraguayos Universidad Catolica, 1997). Translated with permission of the author.

Group Task

In this activity, you will learn about how the Japanese educational system was transplanted into a Japanese colony in Paraguay and how international politics uprooted the Japanese community's efforts to maintain traditional Japanese education. You will be asked to place yourself in the position of one of four individuals and to persuade others to either defend or eliminate Japanese cultural and linguistic education for Japanese descendants in Paraguay. To prepare yourself to make a logical argument, read the following background information on Japanese education in Paraguay during the pre-World War II era. Further information about this activity is included at the end of the background information.

activity #8

JAPANESE EDUCATION IN PARAGUAY

Consider the following questions while reading about the Japanese educational system in Paraguay:

- *Why do you think maintaining traditional Japanese education was important to Japanese settlers in Paraguay?*
- *How was Japanese education in Paraguay influenced by international politics?*
- *Can you see any parallels between Japanese education in Paraguay and debates on education in the United States?*

A Brief History of Education in Japan

Education played a major role in Japan's development as a modern state. Although formal educational institutions had existed in Japan for many centuries, widespread educational structures did not emerge until 1871 when the Japanese Ministry of Education adopted an ambitious plan to educate the masses based on French and German educational models. The new system was centralized and established uniform standards and curricula to be practiced throughout the entire country. By 1907, almost all Japanese children attended elementary school for six years and secondary school for an additional five years. In 1877, Tokyo University was founded, soon to be followed by the establishment of many more institutions of higher learning.

The Imperial Rescript on Education encouraged uniformity and the development of efficient Western learning combined with Japanese spirit. The reform specifically states:

"Education should be more specifically about the concept of national policy and Japanese spirit. Under the current reform, three concepts will prevail: Shintoism [the Japanese state religion, which valued the emperor as the 'father' of the Japanese race], education, and government."

Through primary education, Japanese children were introduced to personal training associated with the values of the Japanese empire. The most important of these principles was loyalty to the emperor and the state.

After World War II, the Japanese educational system underwent significant reform under the influence of the Allied occupation of Japan. Under the Fundamental Education Law of 1947, the Japanese educational system emerged as one promoting active citizenship and democracy. Today, the Japanese educational system is considered one of the best in the world. More than 90 percent of Japanese citizens graduate from high school.

Educating the Japanese in Paraguay

The Japanese educational system that was brought to Paraguay in 1936, however, centered itself around the moral education prominent in Japan at the height of the Japanese empire. A large part of the system and principles established by the Imperial Rescript on Education was transmitted to the children of Japanese settlers in Paraguay through an educator, Shozaburo Fujisawa, sent by the Japanese government.

Mr. Fujisawa arrived in Asunción in 1936 and recounted his experiences and objectives on his journey to the colony La Colmena. His plan was "to plant the seeds of discipline, and politeness, to suffer and to practice moderation when encountering adversity, to inculcate optimism . . ., and above all, to cultivate the Japanese fighting spirit called *Yamato damashii*."

The first school consisted of humble furniture made of unstripped wood and placed on a dirt floor. The school educated 66 children. Before long, however, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign

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Affairs and Colonization cooperated with the local colonization office to provide better materials and to construct a larger school called the La Colmena Elementary School of Japanese Language. By 1940, the school's student body had grown to 136 pupils distributed into three sections led by instructors Fujisawa and Shintaro Takahashi. The schedule of each day consisted of the following: three hours of instruction using the Japanese educational system in the morning, and two hours of instruction following local standards in the afternoon covering geography, history, Spanish, and Paraguayan civic education. Three Paraguayan teachers were employed by the school. One of them, Agustina Miranda González, remained at the school for many years to come.

As bilingual education developed, the Japanese population decided to integrate Paraguayan students into their school as well. However, this form of education came to a halt when Japan attacked Pearl Harbor in 1941. At this time, the Paraguayan government instituted a series of restrictions against the Japanese collective at La Colmena. As a result, the school's parents association decided to voluntarily turn the school over to Paraguayan government officials as a gesture of goodwill in 1942.

At about the same time, the Plenipotentiary Legation of Spain in Paraguay, which had been representing the Japanese consulate during the war, ordered the immediate deportation of the school's director, Mr. Fujisawa. When Mr. Fujisawa and his wife returned to Japan, the vacancy was filled by his compatriot, Shintaro Takahashi.

In February 1943, the legation prohibited all civic activities of the Japanese colony. Due to the war, the Paraguayan government restricted all collective activities of Japanese and German residents. In 1945, coinciding with the Potsdam Declaration and Japan's surrender to the Allied forces, the president of the Republic of Paraguay ordered the permanent closing of the Japanese school. Thus, the building itself as well as the teaching materials became the property of the Paraguayan state.

In March 1946, "State School No. 128" opened in the building previously housing the Japanese school. More than 489 students enrolled in the school , which was directed by Agustina Miranda González. Since the new director had previously worked with the Japanese students, she was able to understand the community's needs and integrate some aspects of the Japanese instruction with the curriculum established by the Paraguayan government. For her service, she was recognized by the Japanese imperial family and the Japanese government in 1966 and 1982.

Today, the secondary school established by the Japanese community is named after Agustina Miranda González, while the primary school is called the Paraguayan-Japanese School to symbolize the Japanese community's desire for ongoing friendship between themselves and Paraguayan nationals.

Source: Emi Kasamatsu, *La Presencia Japonesa en el Paraguay* (Asuncion: Biblioteca de Estudios Paraguayos Universidad Catolica, 1997). Translated with permission of the author.

activity #8

Imagine the following:

The year is 1945 and the Paraguayan government has just announced that it will close the Japanese school in La Colmena, replacing it with a state-run school. Your objective is to write a letter to the editor of the colony's Japanese newspaper persuading the residents of the colony either (1) to passively comply with the government's demands, or (2) to ask the government to reconsider its position and allow the Japanese community to maintain its own school. You are one of the following individuals:

- Tomoko Minamoto—a fifteen-year-old student educated in the Japanese elementary school and currently attending the secondary school
- Hiroyuki Kawamura—a forty-year-old farmer and father of two children born in Paraguay
- Martín Gutierrez—a Paraguayan educator who has researched the Japanese educational system
- Kazuyoshi Fukui—a representative of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs concerned with the Japanese living overseas

Consider the following points in your letter:

- The preservation of Japanese culture and language versus cultural and linguistic assimilation
- The political significance of the Japanese educational system and Japan's international position after World War II
- The future societal role of Japanese descendants in Paraguay
- Alternative methods of educating young Japanese descendants about Japanese culture and language

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GLOSSARY

aliens ineligible for citizenship—term applied to the status of all Asian immigrants in the United States until 1952.

arranged marriage—marriage arranged by matchmaking through a go-between and/or parents

assimilate—to become a part of the cultural tradition of a population or group

bicultural—having two distinct cultures

bubble economy—tremendous economic growth experienced by Japan during the 1980s and early 1990s. Since the "burst" of the bubble economy around 1992, Japan has been experiencing a slow-growing economy.

colonia—Spanish term for colony

colonos—Spanish term for contract laborers

compatriot—fellow countryperson

concentration camps—see "relocation camps"

conscript—to enroll into military service by compulsion; to draft

cyclical migration—seasonal moving common among agricultural laborers whose work depends on the seasonal harvest. A cyclical migrant might work for three months in an agricultural region before moving to a city for a few months, followed by another move for a seasonal job in agriculture.

dekasegi—Japanese term meaning to work away from home; *dekasegui* in Spanish and Portuguese

depopulate—to greatly reduce the population of an area

domestic migration—movement of people within a country

emigrate—to leave one's country or place of abode for life or residence elsewhere

Executive Order 9066—order signed on February 19, 1942, by U.S. President Franklin Roosevelt, which delegated authority to the secretary of war to "prescribe military areas . . . from which any or all persons may be excluded." The military authorities designated most of the Pacific Coast as such an area. The only persons actually excluded were those of Japanese birth or descent.

exogamous marriage—marriage to a person outside one's own ethnic group

forced migration—migration that occurs when people leave their place of origin under the control of others

gaijin—Japanese term for "foreigner"

Gentleman's Agreement—executive agreement between the United States and Japan in 1907–08 by which the United States limited the numbers of Japanese immigrants allowed into the country

horticulture—science of growing fruits, vegetables, flowers, or ornamental plants

immigrate—to come into a country of which one is not a native for permanent or temporary residence

Immigration Act of 1924—law that barred further immigration to the United States of "aliens ineligible for citizenship"

inassimilable—not able to absorb into the cultural tradition of a population or group

indigenous—having originated in a particular region or environment

international migration—movement of people from one country to another

internment camps—see "relocation camps"

issei—first-generation Japanese immigrants

kimono—long robe with wide sleeves, worn with a broad sash; the national costume of Japan

manga—Japanese word for comics

Maria Luz Incident—a diplomatic crisis in 1872 involving a Peruvian ship carrying Chinese coolies. When the ship was docked in Yokohama, two of the coolies escaped and complained about the inhumane conditions aboard the ship. A Japanese court ruled in favor of the Chinese coolies and this decision was later sanctioned by Tsar Alexander II of Russia who had been assigned to arbitrate the case as an international legal dispute.

Meiji Period—period (1868–1912) in Japanese history under the reign of Emperor Meiji. Large numbers of Japanese emigrated during this period due to land reforms which worsened conditions for farmers.

migrant—person who moves (especially, in order to find work)

migration—movement from one country, place, or locality to another

naturalization—granting of full citizenship to one of foreign birth

nikkei—a term usually referring to Japanese immigrants and their descendants

nisei—children (second generation) of Japanese immigrants

Okinawa—main and largest island of the Ryukyu archipelago in Japan; also the name of the prefecture that includes most of the archipelago

omiai—Japanese term for "arranged marriage"

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picture brides—term for Japanese women in the early 20th century who married in absentia Japanese immigrants to the United States, Canada, and other countries after an exchange of photographs and then came to join their new husbands

push-pull framework—one approach to the study of migration that argues that individuals are influenced by a number of "push-pull" factors, which encourage them to leave their place of origin while simultaneously pulling them toward a new destination

quota—proportional part or share

relocation camps—name commonly used to refer to camps that were established during World War II to confine Japanese Americans (in the United States) and Japanese Canadians (in Canada) from 1942 to 1945. The terms "internment camps" and "concentration camps" have been used as well.

remigration—"double" migration whereby an emigrant moves first to one country, then to another. For example, some Japanese first migrated to Peru and then *remigrated* to Bolivia.

return migration—migration that occurs when individuals leave their place of origin but eventually return

rural-urban migration—movement of people from rural areas to cities

sansei—children (third generation) of *nisei*

"school boy"—term designated for student-laborers who lived with American families in the early 20th century. They usually performed domestic service in exchange for room and board and minimal wages.

sending and receiving countries—countries that send or take in immigrants

urban-urban migration—movement of people from one city to another

U-turn migration—movement of children and grandchildren of Japanese nationals in Latin America to Japan

voluntary migration—unforced movement of people

woodblock print—impressions made from engraved or carved wooden blocks

"Yellow Peril"—phrase used in the Western world to describe the threat of an alleged Asian invasion. The phrase has almost always involved the fear of a military conquest but has also occasionally been used to describe the danger of being overrun by Asian immigrants.

yobiyose—Japanese term meaning "invited or summoned migrants." *Yobiyose* migrants were often invited to work for relatives living abroad, thus becoming immigrants themselves.

yonsei—children (fourth generation) of *sansei*

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